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[28 Mar]

REPORT ON BCP CC PLENUM DECISION ON AGRICULTURE

AU272154 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Mar 85 pp 1, 5

[Report on "Decision Adopted by the BCP Central Committee Plenum on 18 and 19 March 1985" in Plovdiv]

[Text] Present-day socialist agriculture in the People's Republic of Bulgaria is a great achievement of the party's April agrarian policy, the BCP Central Committee decision states. The thorough changes that occurred in the development of its material-technical basis and in the concentration and specialization of production represent historic achievements of the party, the people, and the state.

The plenum noted with great satisfaction that the Communists and all working people in our country are fully justified in linking the successes achieved in agriculture and in the food industry to the name and activities of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, as the creator and strategist of our party's Leninist April agrarian policy. The results achieved confirm in the most convincing manner the correctness and vital strength of the fundamental theoretical developments and practical approaches worked out by the general secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

Considerable growth has been implemented in the production of basic, strategically important goods, such as grain, meat, milk, eggs, and others. A total amount of more than 1 ton of grain per capita of the population has been ensured. Conditions have been created for the people's rational alimentation and for increasing the country's economic potential. Social labor, or productivity, has increased. As regards the per capita production and consumption of various basic agricultural goods, Bulgaria takes its place among the advanced countries. Our agricultural successes have earned international recognition.

In worthily appreciating the great achievements of the agricultural toilers and cadres in implementing the April agrarian policy, the decision notes that the successes achieved to date are no longer sufficient for the new goals and objective opportunities of our socialist agriculture, for the constantly increasing needs and requirements of the domestic and foreign market. The more complicated tasks, stemming from the scientific-technological revolution and from the construction of a developed socialist society, can no longer be resolved with the presently existing technologies and methods of work.

The plenum thinks that the chief method of further guaranteeing an intensive and stable development of agriculture and the food industry lies in resolutely improving the activities of all links and cadres for a comprehensive and accelerated introduction of the achievements of the contemporary scientific revolution in this sector.

The decision points out that the essence of the BCP's agrarian policy should be the implementation of the scientific-technological revolution in agriculture and the food industry, in conformity with the new requirements of the February (1985) BCP Central Committee Plenum, aimed at achieving intensive and stable agricultural production.

It is necessary, in conformity with the basic postulates and instructions set forth by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in connection with building and perfecting a scientifically founded system of agriculture, to introduce revolutionary changes in selection, in technologies, and in crop management for the most efficient utilization of our country's natural resources.

It is envisaged, on the basis of a scientific-technological approach, to achieve a considerable increase of production during the period up to 1990 and even up to 2000, and to increasingly satisfy the population's needs throughout the year, with food products and corresponding to the norms of rational alimentation. During the 1986-1990 period, the volume of agricultural production must increase by an average annual rate of no less than 2.5-3 percent and the volume of food industry should increase by no less than 3.5-4 percent, as compared with the preceding 5-year period.

In the future, the strategic trend in the development of agriculture must continue to be aimed at grain production and animal husbandry by achieving a considerable increase in the production of plant proteins, technical crops, fruit, and vegetables, so as to satisfy the needs of animal husbandry, as well as the needs of the food industry for raw materials.

The BCP Central Committee decision devotes great attention to selection and seed production, which must soon be coordinated with the new achievements of molecular genetics and contemporary biotechnology. For this purpose it is envisaged to create the necessary organizational, material-technical, and cadre conditions so that the methods of fiber crops, cellular, and genetic engineering may be applied.

The Agricultural Academy and the institutes of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences must be entrusted with the task of working out specific, complex programs and of establishing programmatic collectives for the solution of problems connected with the production of more proteins, with increasing the photosynthetic capacities of plants, obtaining atmospheric nitrogen, and increasing the efficiency of mineral alimentation, and with improving the stability of varieties and hybrids, as well as their resistance to diseases, pests, and natural disasters.

The BCP Central Committee decision points out that seed production, as early as during the Ninth 5-Year Plan period, should be placed on an entirely industrial basis, so that it may become an efficient export factor. The necessary conditions must be created for a prompt transfer and introduction of the highest Bulgarian and foreign selection achievement into the production sector. The place and role of the Institute for the Introduction of Plant Resources must be enhanced to a qualitatively new level.

The decision devotes great attention to the preservation of the soil and to the improvement of land fertility as a basic task upon which the attention of the party, state, economic, and social organs and organizations should be focused. It is necessary to create prerequisites for a qualitative improvement in total land resources and for a drastic limitation of the corrosive processes of the soil, for the restoration and increase of land fertility.

We must comprehensively adopt the application of basically new technologies in soil cultivation, which have been tested by our own experience and on a worldwide scale -- such as minimum, nil, and plowless methods -- as well as intensive [produlbochavane] methods, direct sowing [direktna seitba], and so forth. The introduction of new and climatic areas must become one of the criteria in the evaluation of cadres. As early as the next few years, the full utilization of natural fertilizers must be ensured and the use of plant wastes must serve to decisively improve soil fertility. Changes must be introduced in the existing legislation on land preservation, and the use of arable land for nonagricultural purposes must be drastically restricted.

It is pointed out in the decision that in the future, the formation and modernization of the irrigation melioration fund must be coordinated with the approaches and scope determined in the memorandum submitted by Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the BCP Central Committee Politburo in 1984. The ministries and departments must give priority to providing for the necessary construction equipment and transportation means, while the National Agro-Industrial Union and the okrug people's councils have the task of organizing the utilization of irrigated plots on schedule and to their full extent. By 1995 or 2000 4 million decares of new irrigated areas must be provided for on the territory of the Dobrudzha plain.

The National Agro-Industrial Union and the Agricultural Academy are now assigned the task, during the 1985-86 period, to work out and introduce an efficient system for administering and determining the composition of agricultural produce on the basis of the integrated application of new technologies in plant growing by using computer equipment. As early as 1985 we must build up an organizational structure of the system of administration and crop determination at all levels of the National Agro-Industrial Union.

Particular attention is paid to the full destruction of weeds as a necessary prerequisite in applying the new intensive technologies.

It is envisaged during the Ninth 5-Year Plan period to embark on a wider introduction of nontraditional agricultural methods whose efficiency has been confirmed, by growing crops under fully controlled conditions, under hydroponic conditions, as in the case of certain vegetables and flowers, by establishing plants and workshops for the production of sowing material and seeds, microbiological proteins, amino acids, enzymes, and so forth.

The chief trend in the intensification of animal husbandry must be the increase of animal productivity on the basis of the new technologies, the decision states. In this connection the task is set to proceed further in the specialization of animal husbandry along productive lines through importing from other countries and establishing locally highly productive specialized breeds and hybrids for the production of milk, meat, wool, and other such goods, and through the most efficient utilization of our country's natural and climatic conditions. The process of creating a meat-productive cattle breeding, adapted to the existing conditions of breeding and efficient in the use of grass fodder resources in the mountainous and semimountainous areas, should be accelerated. The same applies to the use of waste from coarse fodder in the plains. Through the use of modern genetic achievements, basically new selection methods should be introduced for different breeds of domestic animals.

The National Agro-Industrial Union is assigned the task of organizing the accelerated application of embryo transplants in the cattle-breeding sector.

It is also assigned the task of seeing to it that prophylaxis and health protection in the case of animals should be coordinated with a high concentration of production and with industrial methods of animal breeding, aimed at achieving a reduction of diseases and of the mortality rate in the animal husbandry sector. It is envisaged to intensify the state-control functions of the veterinarian organs and services for the health protection of animals in all economic organizations and in the private plots sector.

Fodder production at accelerated rates must be fully coordinated with the needs of new alimentation technologies.

The annual plans must ensure a reserve of 10-15 percent of concentrated and of 15-20 percent of juicy [sochni] and coarse fodder. Conservation materials must be more widely used in preserving grass and juicy fodder, as well as in chemical and biological processing, so that the alimentary values of coarse fodder may be increased.

The necessity of introducing a comprehensive system of administering the productivity and reproduction of animal husbandry on the basis of contemporary scientific achievements in the fields of genetics, selection, animal-breeding biology, and animal feeding and health protection, was stressed in the BCP Central Committee decision.

The plenum decision devotes great attention to the problems of the food industry, to its development as a contemporary and highly effective economic branch. Basic changes in production of prepared and semiprepared foodstuffs and food for children and dietetics are envisaged, changes in conformity with the norms of scientific alimentation.

The accelerated introduction of the following vanguard technologies is determined as the chief trend in the intensification of the food industry: biotechnologies, capsular [membranni] methods, extrusion and extraction devices for processing, aseptic production, and preservation, as well as others. The new technologies must represent a basic factor in increasing the efficiency and competitiveness of this industrial branch, for the comprehensive and thorough utilization and increase of raw material resources, for the introduction of basic changes in the variety structure and quality of production, for improving the social value of this branch of industry.

In addition, the plenum decision demands an increase in the export value of the food industry; it demands the development of an accelerated production of profitable and effective goods in the tobacco, wine producing, oil processing, and canned food industry.

An accelerated innovation and modernization of the material-technological base of the food industry is envisaged in conformity with the most recent achievements of the scientific-technological revolution, with the decisive participation of our machine-building sector and through the accelerated import of adequate equipment. Absolute priority should be given to the comprehensive automation of processes by using modern electronic equipment and robotics. Along with this, small- and medium-sized enterprises should be established on a contemporary technical level, enterprises technologically linked with large combines, for the production of new goods, semiprepared foodstuffs and goods likely to introduce qualitatively new changes in the image of the individual subbranches and in mass consumption.

During the Ninth 5-Year Plan period, it is necessary to resolve on a priority basis the questions of satisfying the needs of the food industry for modern packaging materials and ensuring the long-term preservation of goods. The multifunctional character of this packing material must be observed; it should also serve to modernize our domestic market as regards its esthetic criteria. The production of new types of packing material must be introduced within the next 1-2 years, and a modern printing shop should be established for the artistic design of such packing material corresponding to the highest criteria of good taste and design.

It has been decided to coordinate fully the material-technological base of agriculture with the requirements of the accelerated introduction of basically new technologies.

During the Ninth 5-Year Plan period, an accelerated renovation of the material-technological base of agriculture must take place, with priority given to the delivery of high-power tractors and highly productive harvesting, irrigation, and plant protection machines, to equipment for basically new methods of land protection and to equipment ensuring technologies aimed at basically new methods of soil protection and of saving resources. We must boldly adopt the introduction of technological machine complexes.

The Council of Ministers is entrusted with adopting in 1985 a comprehensive program of automation in production processes and in agricultural, as well as food industry, management.

The use of chemical means in agriculture must be implemented on a new technical and technological basis in conformity with the adopted comprehensive program. In 1986 the agricultural sector must be provided with fertilizers and with the necessary substances based on scientific methods and norms of plant alimentation, as well as on the basis of efficient plant protection methods. The Ministry of Chemical Industry is obliged to provide for an improvement in the variety structure and in the quality of fertilizers and chemical substances for agriculture.

It has been envisaged to apply a new approach in constructing the material-technological basis and implementing the investment process in agriculture and the food industry, and to direct a large part of the means toward quickly renewing the active production funds, as well as to apply new criteria for best utilizing the new equipment.

In full coordination with the requirements of the scientific-technological revolution, the decision envisages the further perfection of the management of agro-industrial production. The territorial concentration and specialization of agricultural production will be strengthened on the basis of updating the general scheme for the period until the year of 2000, while the interbranch and intereconomic specialization and production concentration are to be strengthened through formulating the most effective structure for crops and obtaining maximum production from a territorial unit, at the lowest production cost.

The organization of scientific research and innovating activity in agriculture and the food industry must fully correspond with the new requirements.

The Agricultural Academy has been instructed to adopt principled new forms and decisions on perfecting the scientific research process and introducing scientific achievements. The National Agro-Industrial Union, the okrug agro-industural unions, and the economic organizations must reconstruct their structures with the view to turning them into the main organizers of introducing scientific-technological progress.

The planning of agro-industrial production must ensure the implementation of specific tasks of the scientific-technological revolution. The main goals of the future development must be determined for the entire agro-industrial complex of the country. It must encompass the strategic directions of scientific-technological progress in all its branches and functions, and ensure maximum increase of the national revenue from agriculture and the food industry, at minimum production expenditures. These goals are to be made concrete for each economic organization, enterprise, and workers' collective.

It has been required to develop and apply a new system of planning norms, coordinated with the specific biological and other characteristics of agro-industrial production, which are to stimulate the achievement of certain scientific-technological and socio-economic goals, regulate the activity of the economic organizations and workers' collectives on an economic basis, and expand and assert their independence and independent initiative.

It has been decided to create a more perfect and flexible system of regulating the relations between prices of the production means of which agriculture disposes and the purchase price of the agrarian produce by adopting a special method and mechanism of maintaining an optimal relation between the two kinds of prices on the principle of compensation.

The economic mechanism in agriculture and the food industry must reflect the specific conditions of production in the various branches and stimulate the leading and executive cadres to effectively conduct economic activity on the basis of introducing the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution.

The necessity of ensuring the most correct combination of public, collective, and personal interests, and stimulating the achievement of high final results through broadly applying piecework wages in an organic unity with the new brigade organization of labor has been stressed.

It has been pointed out that the work is to continue for perfecting the mutual relations between the National Agro-Industrial Union and the finance-credit system with the view of creating conditions of intensifying the economic and financial independence of the National Agro-Industrial Union and its economic organizations. It has been envisaged that in the future, too, important activities of nationwide importance are to be financed by the state budget.

In order to create approximately equal conditions of expanded reproduction on the part of all economic organizations it has been envisaged to introduce rent payment for the soil and new system of regulating the profitability. On this basis, the entire system of economic stimuli is to be reviewed, as well as the system of excessive payments to economic organizations working under different natural and economic conditions. The National Agro-Industrial Union together with the functional departments must continue in the future to take a systematic care of strengthening the economy of the agro-industrial complexes in the mountainous, semimountainous and other areas of the country.

The party, state, and economic organs have been obliged to solve the urgent social problems on a planned basis. In this context, as soon as possible, the conditions of wages in agriculture and the food industry especially those of the mechanical workers, are to be reviewed with the aim of taking into account the difficulties and the social importance of their work. The issue of fully equalizing the retirement conditions of the mechanical workers with those of second-category labor is to be discussed. By 1988 the basic issues of urbanization of the economic yards and farms are to be solved and transportation is to be ensured for transporting the workers to all agro-industrial complexes and brigades.

The state and economic organs and organizations have been obliged to ensure the necessary conditions of developing the personal economy as a continuation of the public sector. Better attention is to be paid to mass participation on the part of the population in the production of foodstuffs, and to improving its supply with seeds, sowing materials, fertilizers, machines, and small equipment.

The plenum considers that in solving the new major socioeconomic and scientific-technological goals and tasks at the stage of constructing the developed socialist society, the party organs and organizations must utilize new approaches and methods of work and mobilize the efforts, energy, and forces of the Communists, the agricultural workers, and the entire people for turning agriculture into a highly profitable branch of the national economy. The party organs and organizations and the primary party organizations must strengthen the brigades and farms with well-trained executive and leading cadres and specialists.

The structure of the party organizations is to be coordinated with the new brigade organization of labor, and in every brigade a primary organization or a party group is to be created.

The systematic control over the implementation of the obligations of the workers' collectives to the branch must become an important factor in the activity of the primary party organizations in the departments and the scientific units related to agriculture.

It is necessary to implement a change in the work of the party, state, and public organs and organizations with youth in the villages, by ensuring the complex solution of the issues related to youth's self-realization in agriculture. The entire public -- the state organs, schools, public-political organizations, creative unions, the cultural institutes, and the creators from the fields of literature and the arts must take part in solving the issue of educating youth in the spirit of loving agrarian work and the soil. The intellectual life in the villages is to be enriched and brought close to the level of the cities' intellectual life with the active participation of the cultural institutes and figures.

It has been pointed out that the new goals and tasks of agriculture and the food industry will be solved further with the active participation of the united agrarians.

The Council of Ministers has been instructed to develop and adopt the necessary normative documents for solving the problems and tasks ensuing from the decisions of the March BCP Central Committee plenum.

In the decision's conclusion, the Central Committee expresses the conviction that the party organs and organizations, the branches of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, the trade unions, the Komsomol, the state organs, and the public organizations and movements will accept the decisions of the March plenum with deep understanding and great responsibility, and will mobilize the working people and our entire people for a new upsurge, for the future and stable development of our socialist agriculture, and for turning it into a highly effective branch of our economy on the basis of the scientific-technological revolution, and into an all-people cause.

NATIONAL AGRO-INDUSTRIAL UNION CONGRESS OPENS

AU281032 Sofia BTA in English 0755 GMT 28 Mar 85

[Text] Sofia, March 28 (BTA) -- The Second Congress of the National Agro-Industrial Union was opened today. It is attended by 1,500 delegates from all over the country and by more than a thousand guests. In the working presidium are Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, and other party and state leaders, ministers, representatives of socio-political organisations, managers and outstanding workers from the various branches of agriculture and the food industry. The chairman of the Central Council of the union Mr. Aleksandur Petkov, will make a report on the activities carried out by the National Agro-Industrial Union since 1979 and on its tasks in the ninth five-year period (1986-1990) and in the period up to the year 2,000. The Control Council of the National of the National Agro-Industrial Union will also report. In the discussions prominence will be given to the decisions of the February and March 1985 plenary sessions of the CC of the BCP which outlined the trends of the development of techno-scientific progress in the country in agriculture and the food industry.

The congress, which will continue for two days, will adopt decisions and will elect the central bodies of the National Agro-Industrial Union.

IMAMS DENOUCE 'TURKISH SLANDERS' OF MUSLIMS

AU291044 Sofia BTA in English 0845 GMT 29 Mar 85

["Support for the Bulgarian Mufti Institutions Declaration" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA) -- The OTECHESTVEN FRONT paper reports today that in various districts of Bulgaria the imams have held meetings in support of the declaration of the Bulgarian muftis' institution, which has carried in the paper a couple of days ago and which refuted the reports of Western news agencies about coercion being exercised over Muslim Bulgarians.

The paper also carries the resolutions, voted by the imams meetings in the Districts of Silistra and Burgas, which have been sent to the chief muftis office in Sofia.

Giving their full support to the declaration of the chief mufti and of the regional muftis, the 79 imams of the Districts of Silistra and Burgas who have signed the resolution declare that Muslims in their districts and all over the country enjoy full freedom of conscience and the free practice and profession of their religion. That is why it is neither necessary, nor is it admissible to voice "concern" and "compassion" for Muslim Bulgarians, say the imams of the District of Silistra in their resolution.

The Turkish and other alien radio stations broadcast invectives and slanders to the effect that Bulgaria allegedly infringes upon the freedom of religion and the Muslim Bulgarians are allegedly forced to change their names. We, the imams of the District of Silistra, assess these allegations as malicious fabrications, aimed at disrupting the unity of our people, the resolution reads.

The imams of the Silistra District emphasize that this is a campaign of sheer vilification in respect to the Bulgarian state, whose fundamental law, the Constitution, guarantees freedom of the Bulgarian citizens religious feelings.

The resolution recalls that under Bulgarian law, every citizen is free to choose his name by himself and to change it at his own free will, while religion entitles every Muslim to select his own name.

"We have sufficient reason to do so, not only because we feel ourselves an integral part of the Bulgarian people, but also because Turkey has been trying to use our names as ground for her claims to us, for speaking on our behalf, for arbitrarily determining our nationality", the imams emphasise.

Nobody restricts or impedes our religious activities, the imams of the District of Silistra go on to say. We are free to perform our religious services on a regular basis. Nobody puts any obstacles to Muslims visiting the mosques and offering prayers. There is not a single case of encroachment upon a mosque or on any other shrine held sacred by Muslim Bulgarians.

Quite the contrary, the imams stress, we are helped in maintaining them by the district and municipal people's councils. That is why we cannot but extend our gratitude and thankfulness to our socialist state for the care and attention we, the Muslim clergymen, receive, as [word indistinct] for the material assistance and maintenance rendered to our creed.

"We are part of the Bulgarian people, and we have never belonged to the Turkish nation", state the imams of the District of Silistra, emphasizing that there is no need for anybody from without to "take care" of them by misusing their religious feelings.

In this resolution, the imams of the District of Burgas also voice their indignation over the slanders levelled at Bulgaria about violations of the freedom of religion and of normal religious life, about the demolition of mosques and other monuments of Bulgarian Muslims. Stressing the good attitude of the Bulgarian state to Moslims and to Muslim denominational institutions, the imams of the Burgas District declare that they do not need anybody's intercession and patronage for the free profession of their creed, which is guaranteed under Bulgaria's Constitution.

"Nobody has given Turkey the right to interfere in our affairs, in the affairs of our country by misusing our religious feelings. She cannot usurp the right to dictate and determine Islam", the resolution says.

Accentuating the statutory right of every Bulgarian citizen to a free choice and change of his name, the imams state: "It is this right that we Muslim Bulgarians are also exercising".

CENTRAL COMMITTEE MESSAGE TO 13TH MSZMP CONGRESS

AU281146 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Mar 85 p 7

[Text] Budapest, 26 March (BTA) -- Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and leader of the BCP delegation, submitted the greetings message of the BCP Central Committee to the 13th MSZMP Congress. The greeting message reads as follows:

Dear Comrades: The BCP Central Committee conveys most sincere greetings to the delegates and guests of the 13th MSZMP Congress, as well as to all communists and working people in the Hungarian People's Republic.

Your congress is taking place on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary from fasci.m. Throughout the last 4 decades, the Hungarian people, under the leadership of the MSZMP, have achieved great successes and thoroughly changed the appearance of their motherland, which they have transformed into a socialist country with a developed economy and culture, with high, international prestige.

The Communists and all working people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria are well acquainted with these remarkable successes of the Hungarian people and sincerely rejoice in them.

Only half of a year ago our people festively celebrated the 40th anniversary of the victory of socialist revolution in Bulgaria. The assessment of all our achievements makes us justifiably proud and incontrovertibly proves the correctness of the path we have chosen, it inspires us with optimism for the future. Socialist Bulgaria today is a modern agro-industrial state, with a prospering culture. Rallied around the Leninist April plenum policy of the BCP, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the working people in our country are preparing for their 13th BCP Congress with new, creative successes.

The forthcoming 40th anniversary of victory over Hitler-fascism and Japanese militarism recalls that the struggle waged today to prevent the danger of nuclear war to preserve and consolidate peace in Europe and the world is the most urgent task of our day. The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Hungarian People's Republic, together with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries, are in the front ranks of this struggle.

Under the circumstances of the present-day, tense, international atmosphere and under the new conditions of socialist construction, the further consolidation of the unity, cohesion and power of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA member-countries is assuming an ever growing importance.

The BCP Central Committee highly appreciates the friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the MSZMP, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Hungarian People's Republic, and it will also in the future devote all its efforts and do everything necessary, in order to constantly expand and intensify this friendship and cooperation to the benefit of our two peoples and in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace.

With all our hearts we wish the fraternal Hungarian people new and even greater successes in socialist construction on the basis of the tasks assigned by the 13th MSZMP Congress.

Long live Bulgarian-Hungarian friendship!

Long live peace and socialism!

BRIEFS

TRADE WITH BELGIUM -- Sofia, March 25 (BTA) -- In the course of six days representatives of Bulgarian and Belgian business interests will be seeking fresh possibilities to activate bilateral trade and economic relations. Businessmen of Bulgaria and Belgium held a plenary session here today at which they emphasised their mutual interest in the further promotion of long-term cooperation on the basis of joint industrial production, the establishment of joint companies on both countries territories, the joint entry in third countries markets. Mr Petur Ignatov, senior vice president of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, stressed the need to intensify economic contacts, which are undergoing an upgrade development in his view. Along with that, he accentuated the necessity to balance the commercial exchange, to increase Bulgarian exports of machines and equipment, which is possible. Mr Petur Ignatov pointed out that the activation of mutual economic relations would benefit substantially from signing of an agreement on the encouragement and defence of investments and an accord on the avoidance of double taxation, by the establishment of associations for joint engineering, designing and construction work. The visiting delegation, comprising executives representing 21 firms of various economic branches, is led by Achille Verly, chairman of the Belgo-Luxembourg Committee for Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1227 GMT 25 Mar 85 AU]

NEW TELEPHONE DIRECTORY — Stefan Stefanov, chief specialist at the Ministry of Communications and coordinator of the edition of the new Bulgarian telephone directory, announced to BTA reporter Stefan Pavlov, that as of 1985 Bulgaria has a national telephone directory. It is envisaged to include all official and private telephone numbers in this directory, which will be issued in eight volumes. The first volume will cover the capital of Sofia, the others will cover the seven telephone post districts of the country. The new telephone directory will be fully completed in 1986. For the first time data on over 1 million telephone subscribers will be collected in our country. Uniformity of structure and style is observed in the new telephone directory, which will optimally facilitate the checking of numbers. The new directory will be put on sale in separate volumes at the post offices and in book stores. [Summary] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 March 85 p 2 AU]

MAJOR NICHOLSON 'SERIOUSLY VIOLATED' RULES

LD272032 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] The following commentary by Radek Hortinka concerns the spying action against a Soviet military site in the GDR, during which members of the American liaison mission in Potsdam were caught.

The case of the American major, Arthur Nicholson, who was killed while fulfilling a spying mission within a closed Soviet military site near the town of Ludwigslust in the GDR, is in fact already closed. The whole affair was clear right from the beginning, and now there is so much convincing proof of the spying activity of the major that Washington wants to let the Nicholson case quietly fade away after a brief period of bitterness.

The regrettable adventure of the American officer, however, reminds us of a much more tragic event -- the misuse made by American intelligence services of the South Korean civilian aircraft. It is of course striking that in both cases warning shots were clearly ignored. Does a man who allegedly has a clear conscious lose his head and flee? Major Nicholson decidedly did not have a clear conscience. Even the American press openly describes him as a trained spy. It is interesting, however, that THE NEW YORK TIMES bemoans the fact that the USSR did not allow the provocative spying activity to continue. THE WASHINGTON POST also praises the spy, yet at the same time confesses that the major was one of the most able underground army experts on Soviet affairs, a group which undertook a number of daring actions behind the Iron Curtain. He collected information about the Red Army, as the paper quite openly states.

What can I add to this? Perhaps only the fact that before he was attached to the American Military Liaison Mission in Potsdam, Nicholson was sent to the information center of the underground army in Washington and later became a member of the information service in Munich.

Once again there is one less hero; and those who bear the true responsibility for Nicholson's death would gladly be rid of it, in the usual way, by distorting the facts. This is quite clearly emphasized in the Soviet TASS statement. Apart from this, similar provocative actions took place even before, and the Soviet side more than once pointed out their provocative and dangerous character to official U.S. representatives. The fact that the American Government quickly toned down its public outrage, and that its officials were more careful in their choice of words, shows that the United States does not have a clear conscience. The facts are simply too clear. Major Nicholson and his companion seriously violated the valid agreement concerning military liaison missions. Their provocative actions are among those that poison the international atmosphere. This is why world opinion condemns not only this provocation, but those behind it as well.

CPCZ-CPSU AGITATION-PROPAGANDA SYMPOSIUM OPENS

LD272149 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] A Czechoslovak-Soviet scientific symposium opened in Prague today on the theme of increasing the role of the ideological work of the CPCZ and CPSU in the context of building and perfecting developed socialism. It was organized jointly by the CPCZ and CPSU Central Committees' Institutes of Marxism-Leninism, and by the CPCZ Central Committee's Department of Agitation and Propaganda and political high school.

Attending the proceedings are Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Zdenek Horeni, member of the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee; Vasil Beja, Otto Cmolik, and Miloslav Dockal, directors of departments of the CPCZ Central Committee; and other officials. Also present is a delegation of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee, headed by its director, Anatoliy Yegorov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, and Igor Cherkasov, counsellor-minister [Radca Vyslanec] at the USSR Embassy in the CSSR.

The symposium was opened by Zdenek Snitil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPCZ Central Committee.

DISSIDENTS FACING PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT

DW290617 Bonn DIE WELT in German 28 Mar 85 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Forced Psychiatry Also in the CSSR?"]

[Text] KNA, Prague -- In a letter to CSSR President Gustav Husak, published in Vienna yesterday, the National Executive Board of Austria's Catholic Youth Workers has expressed shock that psychiatry is now being used as a weapon in the campaign against dissidents in the CSSR. The organization referred to the case of a young Catholic, Jan Pukalik, who reportedly has been declared "mentally deranged" and forcibly committed to an institution by the district council of the Moravian town of Blansko for collecting signatures against the deployment of nuclear missiles. Until now, such forced commitments were unknown in the CSSR. In its campaign against the Catholic Church, the government had preferred to employ interrogations and arrests. It is also leaving parochial and episcopal positions vacant and trying to drive a wedge between the country's clergy by promoting the Pacem in Terris organizations of pastors, which is not recognized by Rome.

CPCZ CC MESSAGE TO 13TH MSZMP CONGRESS

AU281152 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] Budapest (CTK) -- The 13th MSZMP Congress was handed the following message from the CPCZ Central Committee:

Esteemed men and women comrades: On behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR's Communists and working people, we send you, the delegates to the 13th congress, the MSZMP Central Committee, the members of your party, and all fraternal Hungarian people cordial greetings, together with best wishes for the success of your congress.

The 13th congress is convening at a significant time, when your entire fatherland is preparing to celebrate in a dignified way the 40th anniversary of its liberation by the glorious Soviet Army. Therefore it is only natural that, in appraising the fulfillment of tasks set by the previous congress, you will at the same time take stock of the entire period of socialist construction. As your close friends and comrades, we are as glad as you are of the successes achieved in Hungary in the realization of socialist transformation under the leadership of the socialist workers party, in close cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries.

During the past 4 decades, Hungary's features and its place in the world have totally changed.

Today the Hungarian People's Republic is a mature socialist state with a developed industry and agriculture, and a rich political, cultural, and social life. Its international prestige and authority have grown. It is participating extensively in the development of fruitful cooperation among the countries of the socialist community within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. We congratulate you wholeheartedly on these significant results. At the same time, we wish your party and all Hungarian people many successes in fulfilling new and demanding tasks in building a socialist society. In the efforts for further progress in your country you can always count on the broad support of Socialist Czechoslovakia.

We are happy to tell you that in our country, too, the 40th anniversay of the culmination of the Czechoslovak people's national liberation struggle and of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army is being welcomed by the consistent building of a developed socialist society, in keeping with the resolutions adopted by the 16th CPCZ Congress. The correct nature of this line and its successful implementation are testified to by the broad support for CPCZ policy among our people; by the results achieved in our national economy, science, culture, and other spheres; by the high living standards, security and prospects of all our citizens; and by the comprehensive development of the CSSR's nations and nationalities.

We are aware that Czechoslovakia's liberation was paid for with the immense heroism and sacrifices of the Soviet people and that our socialist present was created from broad fraternal cooperation with the USSR and other socialist states.

With the awareness of its responsibility, the CSSR will continue to actively contribute deepening cohesion in the socialist community and, together with democratic and progressive people throughout the world, it will strive to resolve the weightiest issue of the present -- the preservation of peace and averting the threat of a nuclear war. It will spare no effort in the struggle to ease international tension, exacerbated as a result of the adventurist policy of the most reactionary circles of imperialism, particularly American imperialism, which are striving to transfer the arms race to outer space. The CSSR resolutely rejects the attempts made by revanchism and certain governmental quarters in Western nations to cast doubt on the results of the antifascist struggle and the postwar arrangement in Europe. The CSSR stands on the side of the nations fighting for their liberation and social progress, and against all forms of imperialist interference.

Esteemed comrade delegates, on such a significant occasion as the 13th MSZMP Congress we want to express our appreciation for the successful development of Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations, relations based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The conclusions of the regular meetings of our top representatives, Comrades Gustav Husak and Janos Kadar, are a great contribution toward deepening these ties. We are deeply convinced that the firm ties and close cooperation between the CPCZ and the MSZMP, between the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic, will continue to develop to the benefit of the Czechoslovak and Hungarian people, of the cohesion and unity of the socialist community, of the international communist and workers movement, and of the fight for peace and socialism.

Long live the 13th Congress of the MSZMP, the combat vanguard of the Hungarian people on the path of socialist construction!

Long live the unbreakable friendship and cooperation between the fraternal parties and people of our countries!

Signed: CPCZ Central Committee

13TH MSZMP NATIONAL CONGRESS CONCLUDES 28 MARCH

Central Committee Report

AU260601 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Mar 85 pp 3-10

["Report of the MSZMP Central Committee on the Implementation of the Resolutions of the 12th Congress and the Party's Tasks"]

[Text] The Central Committee submits herewith its report on the work accomplished since the 12th congress, the position of the party and the country, the development of international conditions, and the tasks facing the party and the country.

The 13th MSZMP Congress is performing its responsible work at a time when our people are celebrating the 40th anniversary of our country's liberation. Four decades have elapsed since the USSR, which bore the main burden of World War II, together with the allied powers achieved victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism. We cherish with respect the memory of the heroes who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of the peoples -- including the memory of those Hungarian communists, democrats, and antifascist patriots who participated in the struggle and gave their lives in the struggle against fascism at home and in many other countries.

Hungary, which was liberated following the victories of the Soviet Army, became independent once more, a new era began in our people's history, and a path of social progress opened before our nation. Our people were able to take advantage of the opportunity, overthrew the power of the capitalists and estate owners, and created a new socialist system. The epoch-making achievements of the 40 years were realized through the cooperation of the party and the people, the communists and their allies. The creation of the power of the workers class and the people, turning the means of production into public property, the introduction of a planned economy, the large-scale development of socialist industry, the socialist reorganization of agriculture, the modernization of the macromanagement of the people's economy, the development of socialist democracy, the creation of national unity, and the rest of our achievements have resulted in the ascendency of our nation, a radical transformation of our citizens' living conditions, and a considerable enhancement of their culture and standard of living.

Already at the time of the country's liberation, our party, in collaboration with other democratic forces and mobilizing the workers, peasants, and intellectuals -- the working masses -- began organizing the Hungarian National Independence Front. With establishment of the Interim National Assembly and the Interim Government, we laid the foundation stone of a new Hungarian state. The communists initiated the recommencement of life, the removal of the ruins of the war, the creation of the people's democratic powers, and the carrying of the socialist revolution to victory. The MSZMP has overcome the distortions and mistakes of the initial phase of socialist construction, has drawn the lessons, and has taken advantage of the experiences. Our party, pursuing the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and faithfully serving the interests of the workers class and the working masses, has won and is enjoying the trust of our people and has become the leading force of our society.

Following World War II, our patriotic and internationalist party and the government of the new people's power ended our country's isolation. In their struggle to create and build a socialist society, our people enjoyed the solidarity and support of the Soviet Union, the rest of the socialist countries, the international communist movement, and progressive people throughout the world. It is an acknowledged fact also that, with the great achievements of 40 years, the Hungarian people are participants in the

present worldwide struggle for socialism and that their results serve not only their own ascendency but also the universal cause of social progress and peace.

At the beginning of December 1984, the Central Committee published its guidelines, the fundamental document of preparation for the congress. It has emerged from these as well, among other things, that the Central Committee is of the opinion that socialist construction has been progressing in the direction defined at the 12th congress. In spite of the unfavorable international conditions, we have preserved our achievements and advanced on the path of social progress. The power of the workers class and the working people, the socialist social order, is firm in our country and our people support the party's policy. Our successes result from the devoted work of the communists and their allies; the workers, peasants, and intellectuals; all working men; and the steadfastness of our people.

The congress' guidelines have been debated by the party's membership -- directly in the basic organizations and through delegates at party conferences. At the request of the Central Committee, the guidelines have been discussed and views on them have been expressed by the PPF National Council, the National Trade Union Council, the KISZ Central Committee, the National Council of Cooperatives, the National Council of Hungarian Women, the Presidium of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the Executive Committee of the Federation of Technical and Natural Sciences Associations. The proposals of party and social organizations have greatly helped in preparing the congress. The congress can thus work and make decisions concerning the most important affairs of social life with awareness of the views of the communists and nonparty people.

International Situation, Our Foreign Policy

In the period of the report, there has been an increase in negative trends in the international situation. The basic reason for the increase in international tension is the efforts of U.S. extremist imperialist circles to upset the military balance that has developed between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and to attain military superiority.

As a result of the measures taken by NATO, the most dangerous phase ever of the arms race has emerged. The political and military tension was increased by the deployment of new U.S. intermediate-range nuclear arms in Western Europe. A particular danger is inherent in the U.S. space armament plans, which would spread the arms race into space.

As a result of steps increasing the military confrontation, the mutual trust that is indispensable to normal relations among states with different social orders has weakened. This negative tendency was further strengthened by efforts aimed at limiting the equal and mutually favorable political and economic relations, and by an extremist, antisocialist campaign mainly in the leading capitalist countries.

Several local crises, deepening regional conflicts, and the increasing danger of their escalation have all contributed to the increased international tension. International peace and security are threatened by the fact that certain capitalist powers are interfering with military force, threats, and pressure in the affairs of other countries and are providing direct support to the enemies of national independence and social progress.

The situation in the capitalist world is determined by the historic process of the general crisis of capitalism. The alternately appearing problems within the crisis -- regressions in production, unemployment, inflation -- hurt the workers. Internal social tensions have therefore increased in recent years, too. The contradictions among capitalist states have deepened. The protectionist trends have strengthened, and the

insecurity of international economic relations has increased. In spite of this, there are still considerable forces and resources in the capitalist world.

With regard to the historic tendency, along with the declining capitalist world order, a socialist world order has emerged and has been strengthening and developing, a socialist world order that broke the monopoly of imperialism on our planet.

The development of international relations is basically determined by the fact that these two world orders are present in our era. An increasing role is being played by the developing and nonaligned countries and the national liberation movements in shaping world politics.

In spite of the negative international developments of recent years, no direct danger of world war has taken shape and no irreparable break has occurred in East-West relations as a whole. The global military balance of power between the Soviet Union and the United States, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, a balance which represents the chief guarantee of world peace, has been maintained.

The peace policy of the socialist countries has played a determining role in avoiding further deterioration in the international situation. The socialist community was first to take a stand in favor of halting the arms race, reducing the level of military confrontation, solving controversial issues by means of negotiations, and continuing the East-West dialogue.

The coordinated efforts of the countries of the socialist community have served well the safeguarding of world peace. The Warsaw Pact is a significant international, political and military factor. It is the chief guarantee for safeguarding the historically-developed military balance of power.

In recent years the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact have put forward a whole series of comprehensive initiatives to avoid the danger of a world war, to promote the limitation of nuclear and conventional arms, and to reduce military confrontation to the lowest possible level. In their highly important proposals based on the principle of equality and equal security, they have called, among other things, for a ban on the further production of nuclear weapons and testing; for the United States -- like the USSR -- to promise not to use nuclear arms first; for prevention of the use of space for military purposes; and for elimination of chemical weapons on the European Continent. The Warsaw Pact proposed a considerable initiative to NATO on mutually renouncing the use of force and agreeing on maintaining peaceful relations. It is unfortunate that the United States and NATO have not yet come up with a positive answer to these proposals and continue to strive to upset the military balance of power.

The efforts of the realistically minded middle-class political factors, and responsible statesmen, who accept that there is no rational alternative to detente, coincide with the efforts of the socialist countries. The fact that the peoples of countries of diverse social systems have a mutual interest in preserving world peace and averting the dangers threatening the survival of mankind remains true. The fact that the bilateral and multilateral agreements between socialist and capitalist countries remain valid and European forums of security and cooperation are functioning is conducive to a continuation of the policy of detente.

The struggle waged by the developing countries to achieve and consolidate political-economic independence and social ascendency considerably affects the development of the international balance of power. Their people are engaging more and more resolutely in liquidating the remnants of the colonial past and guide their own destiny, without outside intervention. Although they have chosen different paths of social and economic

development and their level of economic development and the standard of living of their population have become greatly differentiated, their joint interest in reducing their dependence on capitalist monopolies and creating their independent national economies has, nevertheless, increased. The liberation movements are continuing their struggle to achieve national independence.

The anti-imperialist acts of the Nonaligned Movement have strengthened the positive trends in international life. In the past years as well, the movement resolutely demanded a reduction of international tension, a suppression of dangerous world political trends, the enforcement of the right to independent development, and the creation of a just world economic order.

The role of the antiwar movements, which bring together the most varied social strata and political forces, in the preservation of world peace has increased. Their acts, which mobilize great masses, have restrained the arms race. Communists and social democrats, church leaders and simple believers, environmentalists, scientists and doctors, outstanding figures, and other progressive and peace-loving forces act together in support of the cause of peace and disarmament.

The comprehensive Soviet-U.S. negotiations on preventing the militarization of space and limiting nuclear weapons constitute an event of great importance for the viewpoint of the further development of the world political situation and particularly the curbing of the arms race.

In the present situation, the consistent peace policy, the support for the peoples' aspiration to freedom, and the social and economic results of domestic constructive work, are enhancing the international appeal of socialism.

Despite deteriorating international political and economic conditions, the socialist countries are successfully continuing to build a new society. Our countries are making efforts to intensify economic activity, increase efficiency, and accelerate technological development. Perfecting the system of economic macromanagement in order to make it suit the new requirements set by development has been put on the agenda in the majority of the socialist countries.

The June 1984 high-level Moscow meeting of the CEMA member-countries' party and state leaders was an important juncture. The decisions reached there determined paths for the more complete utilization of the advantages inherent in socialist economic integration.

The guidelines laid down at the 12th MSZMP Congress also prevailed in the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic despite the more tense and complex international situation. The effort to render more favorable extenal conditions for our social constructive work and at the same time, to contribute to promoting social progress and the preservation of peace was central to our active international pursuits coordinated with the countries of the socialist community.

We have strengthened our alliance and cooperation with the USSR and the rest of the socialist countries. Our relations with developing countries and particularly countries with a socialist orientation have expanded. On the basis of the principles and practical requirements of peaceful coexistence, we have developed our relations with countries of differing social systems.

The Hungarian People's Republic maintains diplomatic relations with 129 countries. Our representatives are actively participating in the work of almost 1,000 international organizations -- primarily in the activity of United Nations and its specialized institutions.

The party highly values the fact that our foreign policy efforts are being furthered with responsibility and initiative by the social organizations and movements and the Hungarian churches.

In the period under review the international esteem of the Hungarian People's Republic has continued to grow. The world's progressive and realistically-minded public knows and recognizes our results, respects the principled nature of our policies, their predictability, and their trustworthiness. It knows that we are firm allies to our allies and good partners to other countries.

The Central Committee proposed to the congress to strengthen the current foreign policy guideline of our party and state which serves our people's fundamental national interests, peace, detente, and the universal cause of progress and socialism.

The experiences of the 4 decades following the liberation, including the period that has passed since the last congress equally prove that our multilateral friendly and fruitful cooperation with the Soviet Union has a determining importance for our fatherland. In the period of the report, Hungarian-Soviet political, economic, scientific-technological, and cultural relations have successfully developed. The highest level talks between the representatives of the two parties and governments, which have repeatedly confirmed the complete identity of views on all the basic issues of socialist construction and international life, played an outstanding role in the development of these relations. The Soviet Union is the most secure international support of our country's independence, of our work of socialist construction. The further strengthening of Hungarian-Soviet friendship and enriching cooperation between the two countries and the two peoples are our primary national interests.

We consider our fundamental task to be strengthening cooperation in the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, improving its efficiency, and continuously perfecting its forms and methods.

Our relations with the socialist countries have developed and our cooperation has expanded. We highly appreciate and utilize the experiences of their constructive work. It continues to be our endeavor to promote the development of relations and cooperation with all socialist countries. In the period under review, similarly to other socialist countries, our country's relations with the PRC have also developed.

In the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, taking into account equality of rights and mutual interests, our relations with the capitalist countries have expanded. We strive to maintain dialogue, continue cooperation, and to expand political, economic, cultural, and other relations with countries of differing social orders.

The Hungarian People's Republic has also in the past period felt solidarity with the peoples struggling to strengthen their independence, and with movements fighting against dictatorial, exploitive regimes. In harmony with its possibilities, it has been and will continue to support the progressive countries and movements of Asia, Africa, and South America; Hungary has taken a stand in favor of solving local conflicts by just political means. Hungary has endeavored, on the basis of the principle of mutual advantages and interests, to develop relations with all the developing countries willing to do so.

The most important goal of the Hungarian People's Republic's foreign policy continues to be to create as favorable an international climate as possible for the socialist construction work of our people. That is why we take a stand on every possible occasion and forum in the interest of peace, detente, and social progress. In accordance with our power, we are contributing to the solution of mankind's universal problems such as making international economic relations more just, the rational utilization of energy and raw material resources, protection of the natural environment, and the elimination of backwardness, misery, hunger, and illiteracy.

The most important result of the foreign policy of the party and government is that our people are living in peace and security. The main domestic guarantee of the successful continuation of our foreign policy continues to lie in our people's trust and support, its national collaboration, the firmness of our social order, and the successful construction of socialism.

Our Domestic Policy Situation, the Development of Our Social and Political Relations

In the period under review, compared to the previous one, we continued to build a socialist society under more difficult conditions. As a result of the increase in international tension and economic difficulties, our socialist society faced a great ordeal. Under the leadership of the party, our people increased their efforts and carried out great and successful activity. We have maintained our socialist achievements: the firmness of people's power and national unity in the spirit of socialist goals, and security of existence.

In the changed situation, the weaknesses of our work are coming more sharply into focus and phenomena that are contrary to our ideas and violate public morality are giving rise to increasing antipathy in our society. An important condition for our socialist development is that the possibilities inherent in the workers' creative capacity should develop more fully in our social order; we should place greater requirements both in management and implementation, and we should take a firm stand against phenomena that are incompatible with our ideas and goals.

Our social system rests on solid bases. Almost all the means of production are in socialist, state, and cooperative ownership. It is our task of decisive importance, thanks to the planned economy, to use as fully as possible the possibilities inherent in socialist ownership. Therefore, the workers' awareness of ownership must be strengthened, their interest in the more efficient operation of the means of production must be increased, and they must be increasingly involved in preparing decisions and controlling their implementation.

Our state recognizes and safeguards personal property obtained through work by legal means, and such personal property has increased considerably in the course of our socialist development. The development of assets arising from incomes obtained without work must be prevented through economic and legal regulation.

Socialist national unity is being created and is developing on the basis of socialist ownership conditions and through the identity of the most important interests and objectives of the social classes and strata in our country.

The socialist commitment, activeness, and steadfastness of the workers class are of decisive significance from the viewpoint of the stability and development of our system. Its ranks comprise 56 percent of active earners. It is our important task to raise the general and vocational erudition of workers and to encourage as many of them as possible to participate directly in forming party policy and organizing and supervising its implementation.

The cooperative peasantry -- 14 percent of the active earners -- is a firm ally of the workers class. By virtue of its being raised to a high standard, agriculture is greatly contributing to a radical transformation of the peasants' way of life, a narrowing of the difference between the village and the city, and the socialist development of our society as a whole.

The fact that the significance of intellectual work requiring high-level qualifications is increasing is a concomitant of development. With its work, the intelligentsia -- some 8 percent of active workers -- is participating in our social, economic, and

cultural progress. Our augmentation and rational utilization of the intellectual resources of our society constitute an important prerequisite for socialist construction. Therefore, further development of the creative ability of the intelligentsia and its activity in public life is to be encouraged and promoted.

Nonmanual workers account for 18 percent of wage earners. The quality of their work considerably affects the standard of administration and management and has an impact on the general disposition of society as a whole.

Some 4 percent of the working people are small-scale commodity producers, craftsmen, and tradesmen. Their work satisfies real social needs. Their activity will be needed for a fairly long term in the life of socialist society.

As a result of the party's policy of alliance, social national unity has taken shape and become lasting and substantive in the course of practical socialist construction. The agreement of the overwhelming majority of our people remains unchanged on the main issues of socialist construction, but views differ more than previously with regard to ways and means of our continued development. The need for us to intensify our efforts to strengthen unity has increased even more under these circumstances.

The fact that our entire people are interested in socialist construction is the basis of national unity. Continuation of the policy of alliance and the collaboration of forces brought together for the sake of our progress are stimulated by the fact that our party takes actual conditions into consideration, openly reveals the contradictions that arise in the course of development, and, taking the views of the masses into account, realistically designates the tasks that should be carried out.

The independently functioning social and mass organizations and movement, which bring together millions of working people and encompass our society as a whole, fulfill an important role in socialist national cohesion.

Our party relies on the trade unions, the most comprehensive organizations of the workers class and working people living on wages and salaries. It requires their participation in the elaboration of policy, in making it accepted, and in its implementation. The Hungarian trade unions participate in the exercise of power, they fulfill their tasks independently, they mobilize the working masses for socialist constructive work, and they represent and protect the interests of their members and the legal rights of the working people. They play an indispensable role in building socialist society, in strengthening national cohesion, and in creating accord and cooperation with the working masses.

The trade unions are to strengthen their activity in safeguarding and representing interests and are to require the disciplined fulfillment of obligations. This is a prerequisite for enhancement of their influence and their successful mobilization of their members for increasing the political and economic strength of our society. Further development of the economic macromanagement system is imposing new tasks on and, at the same time, providing new opportunities for the trade unions as well. They are to encourage active participation of the working people in managing enterprises and implementing policy by renewing socialist work competition and the socialist brigade movement, by making the creative force of the working people develop, and by deepening plant-workplace democracy. They are to continue paying attention to the political education of their members and to turning young people into self-conscious workers.

The education of youth in a socialist spirit and its preparation for an independent life constitute a cause for society as a whole. Society and its institutions must help young people adapt, but they, too, must feel responsible for themselves and society.

They must be aware of the fact that development of the socialist fatherland, the future of our nation, and the development of their destiny depend to a large degree on their own work, on their honest fulfillment of their obligations.

Our party and society trust young people, but they impose demands on them as well. We oppose a superficial or false appraisal of youth. We do not conceal unfavorable phenomena, but we reject extreme and unjust generalizations. Only the way in which they fulfill their duty, how they live, think, study, and work, and what they do for society can be the basis for appraising young people.

The MSZMP relies on the Hungarian young people's patriotism, knowledge, willingness to act, and enthusiasm. It calls upon youth to safeguard our historical achievements and develop them for the progress of our fatherland. We must create greater opportunities for youth to carry out independent and responsible activity and prove their knowledge and abilities. We will have to do even more in the future if the generations growing up are to identify with our socialist ideals. We should educate them in the spirit of responsibility and for work. It is the responsibility of communists to set an example through their personal attitude.

The KISZ is taking part in solving the tasks facing society. Its main purpose is to win youth over to our socialist goals, to represent and safeguard the particular interests of young people, to reveal and transmit their problems to the party and state organs, and to promote their political and professional development.

The KISZ should strengthen the youthful and movement nature of its activity. Its political activity and all of its activity should attract not only its members but also young people outside the KISZ. It should teach its members and young people to love our socialist fatherland and to pursue a responsible attitude and actions. The KISZ should promote our progressive traditions, strengthen national feeling and internationalist solidarity, and contribute to increasing friendship and understanding among peoples, among young people of different nationalities. Young people should better acquaint themselves with our national history and, as part of this history, with the struggles of communists and the Hungarian experiences in the construction of socialism.

The PPF successfully helps assert the party's policy of alliance and national unity created in the spirit of socialist goals. It fulfills its constitutional tasks and is an active participant in public life.

Our party requires that the PPF continue to play an active role in efforts devoted to socialist construction and to the socialist development of social relations. In accordance with the policy of alliance, it should strengthen our people's unity and mobilize them for the solution of tasks facing the country. It should strive to ensure that, through its activity, there is an increase in the number of people from all classes and strata of society taking part in public life. The PPF should facilitate an opportunity for as many people as possible to express their opinions in debates of national importance and local public interest.

The PPF forums should contribute to making common thought and action into something general, and to strengthening appreciation and attention with regard to each other. The PPF committees should play a greater role in shaping and implementing settlement policy tasks and in organizing local public life. They should promote the cause of nature and environmental protection. They should be the initiators and organizers of our social work to serve community goals.

The fact that relations between the state and the churches are settled benefits our people. Cooperation is based on feelings of responsibility for the fate of the country and develops within the framework of our policy of alliance. The party and the

government highly appreciate the first national conference of churches and religious denominations in Hungary held 1 year ago under the title: "With Responsibility for the Fatherland and Mankind".

The settled relations between the state and the churches do not eliminate ideological differences. The undisturbed cooperation between the socialist state and the churches is, however, made possible on both sides by recognition of the fact that, regardless of ideological or denominational adherence, it is in everyone's interest to have the country progress under peaceful conditions on the road of economic, social, and cultural advancement.

The democratic federations of national minorities functioning in our country carry out their activities in accordance with their purpose. The national minorities regard the Hungarian People's Republic as their own fatherland. The equal civil rights of the national minorities in Hungary are guaranteed by the Constitution.

The opportunities to safeguard their traditions and particularities and promote their mother tongue and culture have further improved in the period covered by the report. In order to more fully assert the rights of national minorities in Hungary, there is a need to continue to help in the development of their initiative, in widening their possibilities for learning and culture. Cultural relations developed between the national minorities and the nations speaking their own language have strengthened, and we are urging this development in the future, too.

The national minorities play a major role in the development of friendship between Hungarians and neighboring peoples. We consider their relations with nations that speak the same mother tongue to be natural, and we promote them. Similarly, we consider it to be a natural requirement that citizens of Hungarian nationality in neighboring countries should also be able to cultivate their mother tongue and develop their national culture. According to our conviction, socialist development makes it possible for people to march on the road of mutual respect, friendship, and cooperation by overcoming the remnants of bourgeois nationalism.

An important factor in the life and development of society is the family. It has a determining role in taking care of children, educating young people, shaping the attitude of the community, and in the unity of different generations. Parents are responsible for having their children grow up in a proper family atmosphere so that they accept the values and norms necessary for social adjustment and for a full, balanced life. They also play a fundamentally important role in making children and young people learn to live, work, and think in a socialist way.

Our state and society are to support and safeguard more fully the institution of the family -- all the more so because recently the number of disintegrating families and endangered children has been increasing.

Demographic development is a highly important social cause. Because of unfavorable ratios of births and deaths, the country's population has decreased by 51,000 since 1980. The government has worked out a long-term demographic program, the purpose of which is to ensure that the population's state of health improves and that the decrease in the population ends and, subsequently, the population again begins increasing. Our demographic policy continues to rely on the decision of individuals and families and it strives to improve prerequisites for demographic processes.

In the period that has elapsed since the 12th congress, the social, economic, and social welfare positions of women have improved and their living and working conditions have taken a favorable turn. More than 80 percent of the women of an employable age are

working. Women account for more than 50 percent of secondary school graduates and approximately 40 percent of people with diplomas. Important decisions have recently been made to improve the position of women and mothers. We are striving to further -- through social and economic means alike -- the acceptance of child rearing, workplace tasks, and participation in public life alike.

Our entire society is interested in our utilization of the experiences of the older generation, those already retired. They participated previously in achieving and building socialism and some of them are still active. Their work and assumption of sacrifices are embodied in the results of our socialist development. It is our duty to foster their participation in public life, attentively follow their position, and ease the burdens arising through old age.

In the period covered by the report, our social state functioned in accordance with its purpose. The National Assembly and Presidential Council fulfilled their constitutional roles. The Council of Ministers fulfilled its task in an appropriate manner. The organizational changes implemented in the sphere of government organs improved the decisionmaking and macromanagement mechanism and enhanced the independence of institutions and enterprises and, at the same time, increased their responsibility. The independence of local councils has increased, and, with the termination of the districts, the organization of administration has become simpler.

In the future the socialist state will fulfill an important and indispensable role in the external and internal safeguarding of our constitutional order and socialist achievements and in the direction and organization of the economy and culture. The content of certain functions of the state, the extent of the state regulation of social conditions, and the system of means and organization of the activity of state organs will be modified in accordance with requirements and tasks.

The new electoral law creates favorable conditions for the more substantive work of the bodies representing the people. By codifying multiple nominations, socialist democracy will be further extended and the sphere of participants in public life will be broadened at the national parliamentary and local council elections due this year. On the basis of the PPF program, the elections are to be important events of public life and are to encourage the population to discuss the country's affairs, as well as opportunities to develop individual settlements and further improve living conditions, and various other means for resolving these matters.

The National Assembly is to participate more intensively in the designation of state tasks. Its lawmaking activity is to strengthen in issues that affect a broad sphere of the population. Its supervisory role is to be increased, and greater attention is to be paid to the implementation of laws.

Government work is to be further developed. The effectiveness of macromanagement is to be enhanced by a more precise delineation of spheres of authority, better coordination of state and social organs' activity, and the simplification of public administration and administrative work. The decentralization of spheres of authority and of the responsibility that goes with them is to be continued. It is a legitimate requirement that the functioning of state organizations should improve and bureaucracy should decrease. This calls for better qualifications on the part of those who work on state administration, and a modernization of work processes. There is a need to act against the belief that legal-administrative methods are all-powerful. It still frequently happens that instead of creating an incentive and using persuasion, we resort to purely legal stipulations.

We must strive to ensure that central state management deals with the most essential social and economic tasks and the main aspects of development. More publicity is to be extended to state administrative work; the organizational and social supervision necessary is to be strengthened.

The state organs are to call for the participation of social and mass organizations, rely on their experience, support the voluntary activity and initiatives of the population, and consistently enforce the public interest.

The councils that function as part of the socialist state organization have an outstanding role in the accomplishment of tasks in building society. We have achieved significant results in developing settlements and organizing supplies to the population. Safeguarding the interests of the population living in small settlements and organizing the work of magistrates at combined settlements constitutes a task of increasing significance. The independence and responsibility of councils and their involvement in economic activity are to be further increased. The organizational, personnel, and financial conditions of their work are to be improved. The participation of the population in the administration of public affairs is to be enhanced.

The development of socialist democracy is a historical program of our party. The effective functioning of the institutions of socialist democracy strengthens the power of the working people and fosters a more rapid attainment of our objectives. We can only accomplish our tasks through the mobilization of the creative energy of people to as great a degree as possible.

The direction of development of socialist democracy is determined by the fact that the social and mass organizations -- with the party's ideological and political guidance -- carry out independent activity. The increase in the independence of local organs, enterprises, and institutions create favorable conditions and opportunities for the population to take a direct part, or to do so by way of representative social bodies and organs, in administering public affairs, preparing decisions, and supervising their implementation.

Socialist legality is a fundamental and unchanged aspect of our domestic policy. Every citizen is under the protection of the law, and those citizens who break the law are called to account according to the law. Nobody in Hungary can be harmed because of his ideological or political conviction.

The bodies of the interior, the public prosecutor's offices and the courts, fulfill their constitutional purpose and are adequately contributing to safeguarding legality and the state, social, and economic order by ensuring the citizens' rights and legal interests. Through their activity they largely contribute to the fact that public order and public security are basically firm, and in recent years criminal acts which severely disturbed public calm have been rare.

A large majority of our citizens exercise their right in accordance with the law; they carry out their tasks in a disciplined way and live and work in accordance with our ethical norms. However, the number of those who assert their real or assumed interests at the expense of the community and neglect their duties or deliberately ignore them is also by no means insignificant. Phenomena that violate the law or contradict our moral norms are increasing: slackening of discipline, irresponsibility, damaging and negligent handling of public property, illegal profit making, shirking work as a way of life, and an attitude that tolerates all these.

State discipline and the discipline of citizens must be strengthened in all areas of social life and it must be made known that rights and duties are inseparable from each other and can only be asserted together. The party, state, and social organs -- also relying on the support of public opinion -- should take a firm and forceful position in order to curb negative phenomena, prevent criminal acts, and safeguard and enforce the law. Safeguarding the cleanliness of public life and the consistent struggle against all manifestations of the abuse of power, personal connections, patronage, and corruption are especially important.

Defending our socialist fatherland is the common cause of our state and our people. The tenser international situation has directed attention even more toward the defense of our construction work and our socialist society.

The Armed Forces of the Hungarian People's Republic, its organs, the People's Army, the Border Guard, the police, the Workers' Guard, and other armed bodies closely cooperating with each other, with the support of our people, are successfully contributing to safeguarding peace and ensuring our internal order. An important condition for all this is the political commitment, disciplined and self-sacrificing activity and high-level professional training of the commanders and the entire staff.

Intensive training is underway during the years of service; the young soldiers are successfully educated. Training for the armed defense of the fatherland should be coupled with adequate care, to promote the multilateral development of young servicemen. The Army's orderliness and organization should be used more consciously to strengthen human characteristics such as steadfastness, discipline, reliability, and responsibility toward the community.

The Hungarian People's Army is cooperating closely with the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states. Its combat preparation is of a high-level, and the modernization of its military technology and its organizational structures is being carried out at the planned pace. Our soldiers regularly take part in the activity of the people's economy, and in overcoming natural disasters. The Border Guard is reliably safeguarding our fatherland's borders and ensuring order there. The Workers Guard combines well the characteristics of a volunteer movement and a political and armed body; it fulfills its purpose, its staff is politically firm, disciplined, and ready to make sacrifices.

Our Armed Forces and bodies are ready for the service of the socialist society, for the defense of the fatherland.

The Economic Construction Work

Since the middle of the seventies, there has been a considerable change in the external and internal conditions of economic development. We belatedly recognized the lasting character of the changes in the world economy. During these years economic policy was mainly directed at the negative effects of these changes on economic development and on the standard of living. We maintained the relatively fast pace of the increase of production, investments, and of the standard of living, and safeguarded too much the stability of the enterprise economic activity. For years the country's expense considerably exceeded incomes, and in the final analysis this led to the deterioration of the external balance of the people's economy and the development of considerable debt.

The 12th congress confirmed the decision of the Central Committee and the economic policy carried out since 1979 that has focused economic activity on improving the external balance of payments and on preserving the standard of living. It subordinated economic growth and domestic consumption of the national income to these goals.

The Central Committee and the government concentrated their attention on the main economic processes. The attainment of our objectives required more active macromanagerial and organizational activity on the part of government bodies, more successful work by the economic bodies, and considerable effort -- occasionally involving a sacrifice -- by the working people. The value of the results is enhanced by the fact that we achieved them at a time when extensive sources of economic growth had been exhausted and external conditions of development were also developing more unfavorably than was expected.

We managed to preserve the country's international liquidity without harming our fundamental achievements. This required extremely great efforts, because the international political atmosphere worsened, the crisis of the capitalist world economy continued, market competition intensified, an embargo policy developed, and protectionism and detrimental discrimination toward our export products increased. Foreign trade terms deteriorated and the price loss stemming from this increased. All this was compounded by the fact that a confidence crisis developed on the international money and credit markets, opportunities of raising loans became more difficult, and interest rates reached unrealistic heights. As a result, the problems became especially acute in 1982-1983. In order to maintain our solvency it became necessary to accelerate the improvement of the external balance and also to reduce the debt burden, even though we had originally planned this only for the last year of the Sixth 5-Year Plan.

In the past 4 years, the volume of exports increased by 28 percent, and that of imports by 4 percent. Since 1982 we have achieved a constantly growing surplus in foreign trade. Our balance of payments also improved as a result of the surplus income achieved through tourism. All this enabled us to reduce our debt burden in convertible currency by about 15 percent, in addition to servicing high interest charges.

We have maintained and in certain important areas improved the internal balance of the people's economy. The budget, manpower, and investment market balance has improved, and we have maintained the harmony between the supply of goods and the purchasing power of incomes.

Industrial production increased by 10 percent in 4 years, but this is less than the projected figure. A considerable achievement is the fact that, in spite of more difficult marketing conditions, industrial exports increased to a greater extent than production. Almost three-quarters of the production growth has been exported, and there has been a decrease in the import requirements of production. Production tasks in industry have been fulfilled using fewer staff and increasing productivity.

There has been a successful implementation of government programs serving the reduction of production expenses, and there has been a reduction in specific material and energy consumption. The proportion of new economically marketable products and the competitiveness of products has not increased to the required extent. One of the decisive causes of this is that technological development is not sufficient, and the putting into practice of scientific results is slow.

Production of the building industry has developed in accordance with the plan provisions. Building industry enterprises devoted greater attention to maintenance and renewal. The advance in the improvement of the quality and organization of work is slow. Building expenses have considerably increased.

Agriculture and the food industry are fulfilling the tasks set by the 12th congress. Agricultural production during the first 4 years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan increased by 12-13 percent compared with the average of the previous 5-year period. We have achieved our best results in the production and processing of wheat and industrial crops which, in addition to satisfying domestic needs, made considerable exports possible. In spite of the repeated drought, wheat production per hectare was 4.6 metric tons; corn was 6.1 metric tons for the 4-year average. This is considered to be a good result, even compared to international standards. The picture is not as bright in the production of fruit and vegetables, and this, on top of distribution difficulties on several occasions, led to justified discontent among the population. Animal husbandry developed in excess of the plan. The increase of beef-cattle production projected for 1985 was already fulfilled in 1983.

The size of the animal stock and the development of the processing industry has created a considerably expanding export-goods base and also ensures the balanced supply of the population. There has been a decrease in the specific material and energy consumption in agriculture, however, production expenses, with the exception of a few branches, are still high.

The results achieved are significant in the unfolding of intensive economic management, but we still have not achieved a change affecting the entire people's economy. The income creating capacity of our people's economy is smaller than necessary and is achievable.

In spite of the 8-9 percent increase in national income achieved in 4 years, the demand to improve the balance could be attained only through a 3 percent reduction in domestic consumption. In order to be able to maintain the achieved standard of living on a social scale, and to be able to make a slight improvement in living conditions, the reduction of domestic consumption decisively affected accumulation, including primarily investments.

Analyzing the results and problems of the past years, the Central Committee can conclusively report to the congress and to our working people that we have succeeded in safeguarding the stability of our people's economy and our basic social achievements, even amidst exceptionally difficult circumstances.

We must still make great efforts to solve the problems that have accumulated in the last decade and create a firm foreign economic balance. The reserves that we can bring to the surface with the current level of economic management are running out. The restriction on long-term investments curtails the development activity necessary for faster and more efficient expansion, and gives no opportunity for a perceptible increase in the consumption and incomes of the population.

No significant improvement in the external circumstances of our construction work can be expected in the new few years. Improving the external balance continues to be a fundamental task. Overcoming our economic difficulties also requires that we expand the foundation required for raising the standard of living and for technological development. All this can only be achieved by increasing the income-producing capacity of the people's economy. Therefore, the emphasis should be placed on improving the level of economic management, developing the creative energies and initiative of the workers, and hence, on creating the necessary conditions for a more dynamic development of the people's economy. This requires an active, encouraging production policy and economic management practice.

On the basis of the results of the people's economy in the past years, it is not only necessary, but also possible to modify the practice of economic policy in this direction. We have to accelerate economic growth by strengthening the qualitative aspects of intensive development in such a way as to further improve the balance of the people's economy and to accelerate the necessary structural changes.

In the future, too, our economic development will continue to be determined by the efficiency of our work above all. We can accelerate the increase in national income only if we manage our resources, natural conditions, and intellectual resources better and more economically. The increase in export capacity, reduction in the demand for imports, reduction of specific material expenses, and the utilization of human creative power decisively depend on us. We still have considerable resources in this area. With conscious, organized work, the support of good initiatives, and the encouragement of performance, we can achieve considerable further progress in uncovering them.

The assertion of intensive development is obligatory in all areas of economic activity. A dynamic increase in the production of competitive, modern products must be facilitated by improving the conditions of economic activity and developing the responsibility and entrepreneurial skills of the units engaged in economic activity. Among other things, this is helped by the further development of the economic macromanagement system that encourages good quality and efficient work.

The goal in the more detailed determination of the economic policy tasks of the coming period is to continue the construction of socialist society with undiminished energy and to strengthen its material and technological base. We have worked out and approved the long-term concept of industrial policy and foreign economic strategy with this in mind. We have also made progress in working out the social programs strengthening the basic socialist achievements according to our economic development level. These include the program approved for the further development of our demographic policy, housing construction and management, and of the social political system.

The Central Committee stipulates that the Seventh 5-Year Plan of the people's economy must become the program of efficient and gradually reviving economic development. In addition to the maintenance and strengthening of the relations of economic balance, it should lay the foundations for an increase in national income, a tangible increase in the standard of living of the population, and the improvement of its living conditions.

According to the facts available to us today, a 14-17 percent increase can be projected for national income during the Seventh 5-Year Plan period. This can be achieved by a 13-16 percent increase in industrial output and a 12-14 percent increase in agricultural production. The designated rate of economic development would enable us to increase domestic consumption by 13-16 percent and to further improve the extended balance of the economy.

Industry continues to play a determining role in the modernization of the material-technological base of the socialist society, and in the acceleration of intensive development. It must contribute more than it does now to the increase of national income, to the fulfillment of export tasks, and to the improvement of the standard of living and supply of the population.

As a result of exhausting extensive resources, all the production factors in industry must be managed more efficiently. This is a realistic possibility as well as a realistic requirement. Compared with economically developed countries, our specific material and energy consumption is still high and work productivity is low; therefore, more has to be done in the interest of developing creative and entrepreneurial abilities, improving work culture, and modernizing the organizational system. The working out and implementation of industrial, technological development programs for considerably increasing the modernization of production structure, competitiveness, and productivity must be accelerated.

We have to make greater efforts than now to utilize natural resources than can be exploited economically, and to encourage the utilization of local resources. In all the areas of production and consumption, the development, purchase, and utilization of energy- and material-saving technologies and installations must be accelerated. The program on the utilization of waste and secondary raw materials must continue to be implemented.

Industry is to contribute to the development of foodstuffs production. Large-scale socialist industry is to further this, primarily by increasing the production of modern machinery and equipment and agrochemical products, packaging materials that can also sell well on international markets, and by developing biotechnology.

The modernization of production imposes greater requirements than previously on the processing industry in particular. It is necessary to expand special branches that involve high-level intellectual and physical work and operate with internationally recognized production traditions, such as, for instance, the pharmaceutical industry, the communications and vacuum-technological industries, and the production of transportation vehicles. At the same time, the progress of intensive development is increasingly dependent on the development of electronics and, in particular, microelectronics and the employment of their devices on a broad scale. This means that we must start to develop the application of electronics on the scale of the people's economy that fundamentally affects the quality of social and economic activity.

The coordinated development of agriculture and the food industry will remain a preeminent task. Our country's natural endowments and the resources inherent in the large-scale socialist enterprises enable the foodstuffs economy to ensure a high-level domestic food supply, which is of fundamental importance, and an increase in exports adapted to international market requirements simultaneously. Great attention is to be paid to an economical increase of yields in crop production and livestock breeding. To this end, it is necessary to make better use of and continuously renew the material-technical and biological bases of the foodstuffs economy. Even greater attention is to be devoted to the rapid utilization in practice of the most advanced domestic and international scientific results and the rational husbandry of the arable land. It is necessary to strive to raise the degree of processing of products, to improve quality, and to reduce production input.

The accomplishment of the agricultural tasks fundamentally depends on the economic activity of the large-scale enterprises. The activity of household plots integrated by large enterprises and the production of ancillary economic units will remain an important part of agricultural production.

We are continuing our proven cooperative policy, which played a large role, particularly in the life and progress of the villages, in the decades of socialist development. The cooperatives are important factors in our economic and social life in the villages and towns alike. Their activity is decisive in agriculture, but they are accomplishing significant, expanding tasks in industry, commerce, and the sphere of services as well. The more efficient employment of manpower calls for a more rational organization of labor and a more purposeful and complete utilization of work time, as well as employing working people where the social profitability of production is the highest and where they can develop their abilities to the best advantage.

Full employment that puts an end to unemployment is the greatest achievement of the socialist social order. Efficient employment is a requirement of further development after full employment. In some places, this may involve the fact that jobs will cease to exist at uneconomic enterprises, while opportunities for employment and material recognition of work will increase at enterprises operating well. Great attention must be paid to ensuring that where necessary, manpower reorganization is carried out with as little upheaval as possible for individuals. They must be assured of the possibility of acquiring new knowledge and new professions.

Speeding up the pace of scientific and technological progress is an essential prerequisite for intensive economic development. This must be fostered by the creation of appropriate incentives, the improvement of cooperation between producer and research-development organizations, and a concentration of resources and means on the most important tasks. There must be a change in the social appraisal of the role and significance of technical development. Greater efforts must be made to reduce our technological backwardness. The operation of increasingly modern productive equipment and the use and utilization of new types of products and equipment call for a higher level of general and specialized education. As well as supporting domestic research

more vigorously and exploiting its achievements, it is necessary to strive more than at present to adopt technical achievements and technologies that represent the most advanced international standards and to introduce them more rapidly at home.

More attention must be paid to the modernization of existing productive capacities, the remedial automation of productive equipment, as well as its electronization, and the spreading of production technologies that are flexibly adapted to market needs.

The means available for development have considerably decreased in the last few years, but compared with international standards, the rate of Hungarian investments can be called medium, nevertheless. The main problem is caused by the fact that the efficiency of the entire investment process is inadequate. The time span for its implementation is unjustifiably long and the level of its expenses is high. It is very important for us to determine our development tasks and to conduct our investments in a structure that is more appropriate to our endowments and to market needs by the consistent assertion of intensive requirements. Thus with the development resources available today, we could create the material-technological base for more rapid progress.

Our country's natural-economic endowments and the implementation of the tasks we are facing require the development of our foreign economic relations. For this, we have to improve our foreign trade activity, and in production we have to increase the proportion of goods that can be marketed at good prices and that are suitable to the demand.

Our multilateral cooperation with the socialist countries is an essential requirement of our economic construction work. Our CEMA membership and our active participation in socialist economic integration play a decisive role in laying the foundations of our people's economy plans and in our foreign economic strategy. Half of our entire foreign trade is with the CEMA countries. We are actively participating in the implementation of the decisions of the high-level CEMA conference of 1984, decisions that create a suitable base for the more efficient harmonization of the member-states' economic development. The supply of energy and raw material needs, the expansion of technological-scientific cooperation, regular economic policy consultations, and the development of the economic means of cooperation have an encouraging effect on faster and more intensive economic development of certain socialist countries, and help the socialist countries to increasingly join in the international division of labor. All this increases the importance of more efficient utilization and further modernization of already applied and tested forms and methods of cooperation.

The Soviet Union is our most important economic partner; it is even of decisive importance. It is with that country that almost one third of our foreign trade is conducted. We purchase the machines and installations serving the technological-technical renewal of the people's economy and the energy materials, raw and basic materials that are essential for the operation of the economy from the Soviet Union above all. At the same time, the Soviet Union is the biggest market for our products. In the future, we will strive to further expand and make even more efficient our cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries by exploiting the development opportunities offered by production specialization, primarily cooperation in production. We wish to expand scientific-technological cooperation that accelerates technological progress and facilitates the manufacture and exchange of products of a high technical standard. We are promoting direct contacts among enterprises, production units, and institutes of scientific research and development. We wish to expand our relations with the developed capitalist countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. Beyond an increase in foreign trade goods turnover, we seek to broaden production and financial and technical-scientific relations.

In addition to the increase in the turnover of goods with the developing countries, we are also striving for the development of production cooperation. The fact that we supply assistance for those countries' technical-scientific development and provide instruction to their experts also serves to strengthen our relations.

The economic management system is an important means of developing the people's economy. The economic reform introduced in 1968 strengthened our socialist system. Relations of socialist ownership have developed and the production forces of our economy have expanded. Economic development has become more systematic. The expansion of enterprise independence and the simultaneous increase of interest led to the emergence of considerable new resources. The efficiency of economic activity has improved.

In accordance with the changed conditions and requirements, the April 1984 Central Committee session decided on the comprehensive modernization of our system of economic macromanagement.

We are striving to achieve the further development of the management system that will take the general laws of socialist construction and our country's endowments and structural particularities into account, will promote the strengthening of our society's socialist character, and will facilitate the development of initiative and the entrepreneurial spirit. The system of economic management is developing in the framework of a planned socialist economy. It is based on the connection among the people's economy plan and the goods, money, and market relations existing in the socialist economy; it is based on taking into account the active role of the market; it enables independent, responsible enterprise decisions. The measures that were decided represent a socialist solution. Their implementation will help to eliminate unfavorable processes and achieve our fundamental social and economic policy goals.

The socialist large-scale enterprises are playing a decisive role in the accomplishment of our economic policy tasks. We must achieve the operation, in every sphere of the people's economy, of state enterprises and cooperatives that are technically well equipped, are profitably managed in a modern way, are organized and managed in a superior way, and are competitive.

While ensuring the determining role of the state enterprises and cooperatives, we support the better utilization of individual and family manpower reserves. A large portion of ancillary and supplementary activity, small-scale ventures, and business work partnerships [GMKs] are gradually fitting into the system of socialist economic activity and contributing to enterprise results and the supply of the population. Society acknowledges earnings that are made in this way as long as they are consistent with the work done and its usefulness.

Unfavorable phenomena also can be experienced in connection with small-scale ventures. A group of entrepreneurs is obtaining dishonest profits. Some enterprises use the GMKs as an instrument for evading the regulators. Abuses and the evasion of laws must be resolutely stopped in this area as well.

It is the appraisal of the Central Committee that we have a suitable economic-political program, macromanagement system, and a material and intellectual base for the implementation of the program for the achievement of our social objectives.

Quantitatively, the economic development objectives that we can realistically set are modest, but they are ambitious ones from a qualitative viewpoint; therefore, their accomplishment requires greater efforts, organization, and discipline than at present. The future outlook is that raising the standard of economic activity will create

prerequisites for a fuller life, a life richer in material and intellectual assets alike for society as a whole. We trust that this program will win the approval and support of our people.

The Standard of Living, Living Conditions, Social Policy

The fundamental principle of our standard of living policy is that everyone should partake of material assets in proportion with his achievement, his work. Security of existence is guaranteed by the right to work and our system of our social-political institutions. It is a fundamental prerequisite for a balanced and secure development of the people's economy that only as much can be distributed as we have produced; the standard of living of the population can develop in alignment with the productive capacity of the people's economy.

In the period covered by the report, a large portion of the increase in the national income had to be devoted to increasing the growth of exports. We were obliged to do this because there have been years in which the situation was the reverse: utilization that exceeded production was covered by a larger quantity of imports. We are in the process of remedying this in the current years. Proceeding from the requirements of the equilibrium of the people's economy, the 12th congress could only set the aim of preserving the standard of living.

In the past 4 years, per capita real income and consumption alike increased by 6 percent, but real wages decreased and it was not possible to maintain the real value of some pensions and social benefits. These are nationwide figures, averages. Still, even from these it emerges that we were not fully able to achieve the goal set by the 12th congress: that we would maintain the standard of living that had been achieved. The livelihood of some strata of the population has become more difficult, their standard of living has declined.

We have achieved the congress' objectives serving the improvement of living conditions. Through considerable efforts, we have maintained an equilibrium between purchasing power and the commodity base. The supply of the population with basic foodstuffs and subsistence items was balanced. Per capita meat consumption amounts to 78 kilograms annually. The number of dwellings has been increased. In 4 years, 297,000 dwellings have been built. In households, the quantity of durable consumer goods has increased. Despite the problems, our system of health care and social and cultural benefits can be compared with those of countries on a similar level of development. The transition to a 5-day work week and a 40-hour work week schedule in industry and the building industry have been implemented in good order.

The raising of the standard of living and the improvement of living conditions can only be placed on firm foundations through efficient production and economic activity. Assessing the foreseeable possibilities for our development, we can envisage a modest but perceptible improvement in the standard of living. According to our present knowledge, a goal that can be set calls for per capita income and the consumption of the population to increase by 10-13 percent in the Seventh 5-Year Plan period.

In the shaping of living conditions, work plays a decisive role. Enforcement of the principle of distribution according to work is the best way of promoting an increase in the productive capacity of the economy. It is in the interest of society as a whole that appreciation for a job well done and useful and valuable activity should further strengthen and that this should find expression in partaking in our assets to a greater extent. In the course of the further development of our economic activity, we will strive to develop conditions that make it increasingly possible for successful work to be appreciated and for the provision of incentives.

The ratio of social benefits not directly linked to work has gradually increased in the past decades. This has proved to be a favorable process, a process that strengthens the socialist character of our society. At the same time, it also has become clear that it is not expedient to increase this ratio because it restricts possibilities for distribution according to work. In the coming period, prerequisites for increasing real wages are to be created.

In the past years, the process of levelling between the basic classes and strata of society in the distribution of incomes continued. However, differences have developed within certain strata that are partly justified, as well as partly unjustified. Our wage system still does not provide sufficient incentive for increasing performance or adequately promote efficient employment.

A considerable achievement of our system of social benefits is the assertion of free health service as a citizen's right, the wide-ranging expansion of the right to receive a pension, the introduction of child-care benefits, and the reduction of work hours.

The party regards the safeguarding of these achievements as an important task. Under the more difficult economic conditions, we were not forced to take any steps backwards in any important areas.

The rise in the consumer price level causes tensions among the population. In the future, too, consumer prices will have to adjust to producers' prices and state support of prices will be justified only in areas important from a social-political point of view. At the same time, there is a need to work out efficient methods of moderating the price increases. The correct proportions must be elaborated in such a way that the rise in the price level is of a socially tolerable extent, and the unfavorable effects on the standard of living are offset by wage and income policy measures.

Social policy has come to the forefront of attention during the past years. It is very important for our system of benefits to be more just and reduce unjustified social inequalities and disadvantages. There is a need to pay particular attention to the situation of those who are not provided with adequate security by the general supply systems and whose problems cannot be resolved either by the family or by the workplace.

Social justice requires that those with higher incomes should contribute more to taxes, while those in need on the basis of their income and social situation should receive greater allowances and benefits.

In the system of regulating the population's income, there is a need to better assert the principle of taxes in proportion to the burden that can be borne.

Among the older members of the population, those who retired recently are in a more favorable situation because their pensions are generally higher and they can supplement them with income derived from work. The situation of pensioners generally becomes more difficult with advancing age. There is no more supplementary income, activeness generally decreases, and there is a deterioration of health as well. The number of those left to themselves, living alone, in need of nursing and care is increasing. Above all, they must be helped.

A pension is a right acquired with work. Our goal through the creation of necessary financial provisions is to increase the low pensions and gradually achieve the preservation of the purchasing power of pensions.

In addition to pensions, there is a need to pay greater attention to working out and applying the most diverse forms and methods of social care. At the same time, there is a need to strengthen the family's responsibility in caring for old-age dependents.

Young people entering the work force generally find themselves simultaneously confronted with the problems of starting their careers, establishing families, and obtaining housing. Their burdens have increased in recent years. In order to facilitate the establishment of families and preparations for an independent life, it is justified that we should further increase the social support of home-building and purchasing.

We consider it necessary that the state take upon itself an increasing share of the child rearing costs. The amount of financial benefits can grow to the extent allowed by the material resources created for this purpose. Two forms of support are playing an important role. The system of child care payments -- which temporarily replaces the child care benefits until the child is one year of age -- is important because the amount of the payments, like sick pay, is adjusted to the mother's income. The family allowance is the support covering the longest period of time for families with children and it assumes basic importance in ameliorating income differences deriving from the size of a family. We are adopting measures so that families with children -- mainly with many children -- can receive more support and more favorable credit for home-building and purchasing.

In our policy concerning the standard of living, there is a need to devote more attention to the development of the population's infrastructure in the coming years. One of our most important goals is the further improvement of the housing situation. Our second 15-year housing construction program is being fulfilled, and we can begin the last third of it by the fact that today the number of dwellings is already approaching the number of households. Progress is shown by the fact that there were 152 persons per 100 rooms in 1980, and in 1984 there were 135 persons per 100 rooms.

The fact that we have been forced to reduce the construction of state-owned apartments is causing problems and tensions. This slows down the fulfillment of the demands of families entitled to such dwellings and the elimination of obsolete state dwellings. There has been a modification in the system supporting privately-owned dwelling construction and purchases. Every family that obtains a new dwelling is given support in accordance with the number of dependents, and separate support based on strata, settlements, and construction types has been eliminated.

The improvement of the housing supply is primarily hindered by the considerable increase in housing costs. This situation puts some of those awaiting housing in a very difficult situation. That is why the development of housing costs requires special attention. With the regulation of conditions for acquiring their own housing, there is a need to better take into consideration the differences in burden-bearing capacities among families. There is a need to increase the proportion of the construction of state apartments, but the main form of acquiring housing will remain the construction and purchase of privately-owned dwellings.

The fundamental principle of the socialist public health is that care should be accessible to all citizens and that it should be of a high standard in relation to possibilities. Accordingly, as one of our priority social-political goals, we have improved the personnel, material, and organizational prerequisites for public health provisions under the Sixth 5-Year Plan. There are almost 34,000 doctors -- 3,000 more than in 1980. There are more than 100,000 hospital beds available, outpatient clinic provisions have improved, and there is less overcrowding in district clinics. A significant result is the suppression of widespread and childrens' diseases and the gradual reduction in infant mortality.

In spite of the continuous development of health care, the state of health of the population is unsatisfactory. The rate of mortality has increased in recent years. Institutional care for the elderly in need of it is unresolved. The problems caused by the technical conditions and low-standard technical equipment of the older hospitals are increasing.

It is an important social cause to halt and reverse the negative trends that have grown stronger in the state of health of the population in recent years. We are continuing the quantitative and qualitative development of the public health institution system. The modernization of the macromanagement of public health care and its operational mechanism must be put on the agenda.

The physical education and sports movement is to contribute more successfully than at present to the development of a healthier way of life of the population and the improvement of the physical fitness of young people. Above all, physical education in schools and students' sports activity are to be developed and people are to be encouraged to spend their leisure time in a sophisticated manner. Tourism is to be expanded, recreation and excursion facilities that satisfy more modest needs are to be augmented. Mass-based competitive sports are to encourage sports aspirations and contribute to enhancing our country's good reputation with their achievements.

The improvement of the population's living conditions demands a development of services and the commercial system. More attention is to be paid to expanding the assortment of items, to quality, to safeguarding consumer interests, to sophistication in commerce.

The development of the settlement system, which was more proportionate, has contributed to raising productive forces to a higher level and promoted a reduction in the existing differences between the living conditions of the population. The increasing material contribution and social work of individuals and collectives have played a greater role than previously in the improvement of the basic supplies for the cities and villages.

In the future, in accordance with regional and settlement development requirements elaborated for the long term, a practice is to be pursued that creates more favorable conditions for a reduction of regional disproportions. It is the task of all competent organs to create a more favorable framework for an improvement of living conditions; to create an environment conducive to a sophisticated way of life; to strengthen the ability of the communities and villages to retain residents by developing appropriate conditions with regard to earning an income and the infrastructure; and to more intensively promote an equalization of differences between the cities and the villages and cooperatives, based on mutual interest, and between settlements and cities and their areas of attraction.

The protection of the environment, the preservation of our natural assets, the prevention of environmental damage, the protection of the quality of water and the purity of air, and the reduction of noise pollution have become an important task in our country as well. Beyond the accomplishment of state tasks, the attainment of this goal requires action by the whole of society and the spreading of environmental culture on a wide scale.

The participation of society, the self-initiated participation of the population, is becoming an increasingly significant force in settlement development. The population is prepared to support development projects that serve its direct requirements; it performs social work valued at approximately 10 billion forints annually for the purpose of constructing, refurbishing, and maintaining community establishments and regulating public areas. Associations of the population are making a considerable contribution to the development of the water, gas, road, and sewerage systems of settlements.

In the future, the regulation of the councils' economic activity will improve the material background to local independence. Settlement development can be even more successful if, simultaneously with the increased independence and decision-making competence of the local councils, the activity of the population and its participation

in the designation, accomplishment, and supervision of local tasks continue to increase. All this not only helps to ensure that resources are used better and more practically, but also that regional and settlement development becomes a public cause.

Ideology, Science, Culture

In the period covered by the report, the party regarded as an important task theoretical and ideological work, raising the cultural standard of society, and establishing and developing socialist moral norms and a way of life. It initiated an analysis of issues emerging in connection with our development, a creative and forward-looking exchange of views around new questions, and the elaboration of theoretical answers that are helpful in practice.

Our people's way of thinking is fundamentally characterized by identification with the objectives of socialism. The population's education and its familiarity with and interest in economic affairs have increased. Our people view our country's domestic position and the place it occupies in the world more realistically, react more sensitively to phenomena that are alien to our socialist ideals, and are prepared to work more consciously to safeguard and enhance our historic achievements.

The contradiction in the development of the socialist society and the economic difficulties are creating confusion in public thinking. There appear false, simplified views on socialism, capitalism, and the fundamental issues of our era. In the more strained international situation, the antisocialist activity of the imperialist propaganda machine has become more aggressive.

The confusion in public thinking often reflects genuine problems, but also indicates shortcomings in our ideological and propaganda work. The Communists' stand is not always firm and uniform in debates, especially in intellectual life. Under more complex conditions, the party's theoretical activity and its propaganda were only able to partly fulfill the increased requirements.

Our society is not ideologically uniform yet. There is agreement as regards the fundamental socialist goals, but this does not relieve us of the obligation to argue with the views that are alien to our ideas. The theory of Marxism-Leninism enjoys a genuine basis and credibility in our country: The practice of socialist construction thus far and its unquestionable achievements. On this basis, with better theoretical and propaganda work, it is possible to further expand the circle of people with a conscious Marxist-Leninist conviction.

It must be ensured that the ideological system of Marxism-Leninism and the socialist values play a decisive role in the cultural and mass communication institutions of the socialist state. We can strengthen our ideological position only through sensitivity to new issues, providing scientifically based answers to them, and through debates that clarify issues, through an open, uniform, and consistent stand by Communists working in the sphere of intellectual life.

There appears to be a divergence between the frequently idealized and at times illusory views of socialism developed earlier and the contemporary reality. The realization that contradictions arise in socialism as well, and that it is through resolving these contradictions that society develops, has not yet become sufficiently recognized. Agitation and propaganda should help to ensure that the difficulties and contradictions appearing in the course of construction activity do not hide our achievements or cause confusion and insecurity in judging the situation and the possibilities of socialism. Agitation and propaganda should clarify contemporary reality in a realistic and multilateral way -- its contradictions, objective possibilities and limitations -- by emphasizing the conscious acceptance of the historic mission of socialism.

The people generally correctly judge the essential differences between socialism and capitalism, but many people, on the basis of the economic and technical achievements and level attained by the most advanced capitalist countries, regard the current situation of capitalism as more favorable than it actually is. This has repercussions on the general judgment of capitalism; it weakens the assertion of Marxist-Leninist ideology based on class foundations, and makes a real evaluation of our own situation and possibilities more difficult. In our ideological activity there is a need to present the social processes present in capitalist countries by means of realistic critical analysis and in a historical connection.

Fundamental moral values are emerging and developing in our society. The encouraging signs of moral exigencies reflect the development and spread of socialist morality. Along with this, however, we also find introversion, indifference, and selfishness.

Ideological work should promote our moral principles, norms, and values to have them become generally accepted. These are: appreciation of work, respect for working people, a community attitude and acceptance of responsibility, safeguarding public property and economical management, voluntarily accepted discipline, sensitivity towards new things and readiness for initiative, love for the socialist fatherland, respect for other people, and proletarian internationalism.

Educating people for a rational and full life, conscientious work and the spreading of our socialist humanist ideals and ideology should be in the forefront of mass political activity. In all these, there is a need for exemplary behavior, support on a social-scale, and the development of healthy public opinion.

Socialist national awareness and national feeling are in the process of formation and development. Our party is the inheritor and continuator of progressive national traditions. It accepts and enriches with new achievements the heritage of national history and culture.

In its theoretical activities and practical policies, the party continues to take a stand against both underestimation of the national frameworks of development and national indifference and cosmopolitanism, as well as against the manifestations of nationalism harming the genuine interests of the nation. Nationalist views and emotions are partly historically inherited and are in part reviving as a result of the anticommunist ideological offensive, but contradictions that arise in the course of building socialism also play a part in their survival. Those who respond to nationalism with nationalism damage their own people and nation as well. A consistent, decisive, and united stand against manifestations of nationalism should also be ensured by way of ideological clarification.

Our party, in conformity with its traditions, lays the foundations of its policy on socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. There is a close mutual connection between serving the interests of our fatherland and people and promoting the universal cause of socialism and social progress. Therefore, in our policy, our national self respect is naturally amalgamated with respect for other people, serving our national interests by promoting friendship and solidarity among peoples.

In the international ideological struggle, our adversaries use every possible opportunity and means to try to undermine the prestige of the socialist countries. They strive to curtail the solidarity of the working masses of the world with the socialist countries and to shake their confidence in the possibility of building a new society. They try to disrupt the unity of the friendly socialist countries and exaggerate the divergent national characteristics of socialist construction and make them appear as a difference in principle.

We have undertaken and are undertaking the struggle between ideologies. The communist parties have never doubted that a clash of ideologies is indispensable in the struggle waged for social progress. We advocate this struggle remaining in the sphere of ideals; it should be conducted by arguments and facts, and should not render more difficult the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and normal interstate relations. We profess and propagate decent objectives and humanitarian ideals: creative human work, prosperity accomplished in the community and together with the rest of the people, and peace and cooperation among peoples.

For the creative activity of the masses to further develop and for socialist democracy to deepen, open and frank information and persuasion are a definite requirement. At times, the impact of propaganda, agitation, and informative work is weakened by lack of power of persuasion, a delayed reaction to events, and by the underestimation of ideological work, something experienced in many places. In propaganda, agitation and the provision of information, through the coordination of content, an endeavor should be made to develop political awareness and shape public opinion that is familiar with and comprehends policy and actively supports it. Information should be precise, authentic, prompt, and committed. I should strive to explain the essential political interconnections.

Television, radio, and the press have successfully contributed to acquainting and having people accept the party's policy, mobilized people for the implementation of party resolutions and government measures, and contributed to the development and preservation of common social accord and the shaping of the public mood and opinion necessary for concerted action.

The mass information system has developed and become more modern. The leaders and collectives of television, radio, and the press have performed their work with greater independence and responsibility. However, in some cases, one-sided and unhistorical publications, publications contravening our political interests and moral norms, have also been made public. This is a warning about the need to continue to improve guidance and leadership and raise the standard of political work.

The party devotes great attention to public education. The school training and education of the population have further improved in recent years. The provision of kindergartens has become almost complete. Of those graduating from general school, 95-96 percent continue their studies. There are approximately 63,000 students at the day sections of our universities and high schools. Long-term programs have been worked out for the comprehensive development of public and higher education, and their implementation has begun.

The new educational-training plans have brought schools closer to social requirements. However, despite respectable efforts by the teachers, the efficiency of educational-training work is short of the requirements.

In some areas, there has been a perceptible strengthening of contradictions between the content and structure of secondary and higher vocational training and social requirements.

The central and regional directing organs have alleviated the substantive, structural, and network tensions of education through numerous measures. The large-scale construction of general-school rooms, which was supported from social resources as well, has produced noteworthy results. Despite considerable investments, the material and personnel conditions for education have not kept fully in step with the increased quantitative and qualitative requirements imposed on the schools.

In the future, the comprehensive development of public and higher education must be accelerated. The modernization of content and the improvement of the quality of educational-training work constitute the main direction of this. The ideals and values of our socialist society must find expression in a more accentuated way at all educational institutions. Education should better serve -- primarily through relaying modern knowledge and community norms -- the shaping of the political-ideological commitment of young people. Schools are to play an increasing role in education for work and are to foster an appreciation of knowledge and work and the assumption of sensible discipline. They are to raise healthy, cultured, and responsible young people who are attached to the fatherland and are able to orient themselves in the world and in life.

Improving the material and personnel provisions for education is a task of primary importance. Outstanding attention is to be devoted to creating the necessary prerequisites for the general and medium-level training of the more populous age groups to an appropriate standard, and to reducing perceptible regional and institutional differences. Effective measures must be taken to ameliorate the shortage of teachers, to develop training and further training, and to enhance the attractiveness of a teaching career.

The universities and high schools should primarily impart to students a thorough vocational knowledge and develop their independence and initiatory ability. They should steep them in responsibility for society and strengthen the development of their awareness of their intellectual calling. The teaching of natural science and Marxist subjects should be linked more closely to vocational training and more boldly assume the elaboration of the most important ideological issues of our era and development.

In many areas, those engaged in the sciences have successfully contributed to solving the tasks of our society in the past period.

Those pursuing the social sciences have achieved important results in the more profound understanding of social realities and in uncovering their connections. There has been an increase in the utilization of the results of scientific research and in the participation of researchers and scientific institutions in the shaping of political decisions. There has been an improvement in the role played by the sciences in shaping social awareness and public opinion, but it is still not enough. Marxist interpretation of social phenomena and of the comprehensive problems of development is lagging behind requirements, and in some places this leads to wavering in applying theories.

The overall efficiency and standard of research in domestic natural sciences suits the country's economic and technological development. In several branches of science, results have been achieved in the past years that also received international appreciation.

Research and development activity aimed directly at practical application has increased, but the relation between production and research does not reach the desirable level and scale. The situation is more favorable in the case of agriculture and agrarian sciences, and is more unfavorable in the case of industry and the technical sciences.

Our party is continuing its science policy, which has been proven in practice. Socialism regards science as its natural ally, respects the freedom of scientific creation, and appreciates researchers who are engaged in successful activity.

In the coming years, the demands placed on scientific research must be further increased. Support for less successful and unsuccessful activities must be reduced.

Priority must be given to helping the scientific branches that determine our social, economic, and technical development. From the point of view of our long-term development, basic research is of great importance. Besides the exploration of reality and the continuation of the activity of preparing decisions, we ask the social scientists to employ the theory of Marxism-Leninism in the analysis of our conditions, to take a greater part in the Marxist analysis of the theoretical and historical experiences of contemporary Hungarian reality and in influencing social awareness in the right direction.

Because of our long-term interests, increasing the resources of research development at a faster pace than the national income continues to be justified. Halting the decline in and improving the supply of materials for research are immediate tasks. We still cannot expand the extensive development of the research network, but we have to support the development of conditions for and the standard of university research projects, and there is also a need to expand the development of enterprise research.

There has been a further expansion in the cultural possibilities of our people in the period covered by the report. Many new cultural institutions have been created with the utilization of state means, with social collaboration, and as a result of the efforts of certain industrial and agricultural enterprises. Due to financial reasons, the operating conditions of several cultural institutions have become more difficult.

In harmony with the development of social relations, there is a need for further efforts to reduce cultural inequalities. We have to take a stand against the underestimation of audience's needs as well as against indifference. There is a need to promote the spreading of traditional and new artistic forms based on independent activity and on the interest and activity of certain people and communities.

Literature and the arts play an important role in the relations between society and culture. In the past years, high-level, socialist, humanist-spirited creations and productions have emerged that have enriched Hungarian cultural life, and also gained appreciation for our people beyond our borders. The audiences, however, feel with justification that a considerable part of these artistic creations do not sufficiently reflect the struggle, work, and achievements of our socialist-constructing people and of individuals.

In artistic life, the creative workshops, associations, and unions, as well as the critical forums, are playing a decisive role. Some of them, however, have been unable to fulfill their tasks at the required level in recent years. Conscious selection in line with values is not satisfactory; ideological and political concessions and editorial mistakes do occur. Certain artistic circles interpret the sociopolitical authority of the artistic intelligentsia in a distorted manner. Unjustified extensive publicity is often given to immature experiments and uninteresting productions that offend public taste.

These tendencies must be changed in the interest of society and the arts. Marxist critics should take it upon themselves to more profoundly uncover and evaluate the world concept and ideological content of artistic works. The artistic workshops and forums should contribute to the enrichment of our people's culture through the clear-cut support of humanist values.

The ideological and cultural tasks place greater requirements on the work of the party, state, and social organs, and on the communists who work in the cultural workshops. It is possible to fulfill these requirements only through conviction, greater political and ideological sensitivity, more thorough professional training, adequate information, and readiness for debate. There is a need for a principled adoption of position regarding essential issues, and following the determination of the tasks, is a need for common action.

There is a need to strengthen the guiding role of the party in all branches of ideological and cultural life. On the basis of the well-proven principles and practice of the policy of alliance, the Communists also cooperate in intellectual life with everyone who recognizes and respects the constitutional order of our People's Republic and who contributes through his work to the construction of socialist society.

The party attributes fundamental importance to ensuring creative freedom and does not interfere with the issue of individual taste and style. We support every effort and experiment that contributes to the fulfilment of culture's humanist purpose, enriches man, and facilitates a realistic understanding of our past and contemporary reality. At the same time, we take a stand against efforts that harm our socialist humanist ideals and community norms.

An important condition for enriching the level of culture, for the high standards and intensity of culture, is the widening of the circle of people who possess an understanding of society and the world, who are aware of their own scope and responsibility, and who are well-informed. The implementation of ideological and cultural tasks is an indispensable condition for the development of human factors and for the further development of our society.

The Situation and Development of the Party

During the period covered by the report, our party, as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and as the party of the working people, also fulfilled its obligations toward the people and the fatherland; it has successfully guided and organized the socialist construction work. Its organization has increased, its influence on the masses has strengthened, and its work style has developed. The party organizations and the Communists stood the test in the implementation of the decisions of the 12th congress. They have successfully involved the non-member masses in the common activity.

The leading role of the party is asserted in all important areas of social life. In the course of the implementation of the decisions of the 12th congress, the Central Committee, following the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and starting from the realistic situation of society, took an initiative and determined the upcoming tasks of socialist construction. The main methods of assertion of a leading role and of policy implementation continue to be persuasion, ideological influence, argument, political guiding and organizational activity, and the mobilization of the masses. In shaping and implementing its policy, the party requires the support of the masses.

In the period covered by the report, the unity of the party was subjected to a greater test of strength than earlier. The strained international situation, economic problems, and social tensions have made their effects felt in the ranks of the party as well, and on occasion they have also caused political uncertainty. There have been a growing number of people who failed to understand or did not agree with certain decisions of the leading organs of the party.

The party has stood the difficult test of the past years. The overwhelming majority of party members live and work in accordance with the party's program, policy, and organizational rules as Communists, fulfilling their obligations as citizens and party members. They are taking a more courageous and firm stand against mistakes; they help to eliminate them and demand a more consistent implementation of the policy. Respect and appreciation is due to the Communists who are unselfishly and self-sacrificingly serving the cause of the party and of the working people.

The fundamental prerequisite for the successful work of the party is the continuous renewal, safeguarding, and strengthening of ideological, political, and organizational unity and unity of action. It is not enough to agree with the principles in general; the test of genuine unity lies in the deed, the stand taken by Communists in representing the policy and their active participation in its implementation.

The internal life of the party is regulated by democratic centralism, by the Leninist norms. The principle of collective decision-making is asserted, and the principle of individual responsibility is asserted in the implementation of these decisions.

In the period of the report, there has been a development in democracy within the party, and participation of the membership in shaping policy has increased. The observations, signals, and proposals of the Communists are perceptibly influencing the decisions made by the central and other elected party organs. There has been an improvement, although to a far from sufficient extent, in the debating spirit within the party. In party forums, everyone can express his opinion, his observations, and concerns. A party member is entitled to the right to maintain a separate opinion, but this cannot exempt him from the obligation to implement the decision of the majority. There is a need to eliminate the laxities found in this area.

It is our task to simultaneously strengthen democracy in the party and discipline. This is mandatory for all communists in the implementation of policy. It is to be ensured that party organs and organizations everywhere assert party policy and the decisions of higher organs and that party members perform their work accordingly. It is a task and responsibility of party organs and organizations to determine -- paying attention to the peculiarities of their areas -- the most important successive tasks involved in the implementation of policy and the methods required for this.

The view that reigns in the party is that the Central Committee and its organs are fulfilling their mission. Some party organizations feel that there are too many central resolutions and, therefore, little time is left to resolve local tasks and unfold self-initiated activity. The Central Committee and its organs have not always paid sufficient attention to assuring that decisions are understood and accepted, and to analyzing opposing views and taking advantage of observations. In the future, more careful attention must be paid to the homogeneous interpretation of resolutions and the organization and supervision of their implementation. Area party organs and basic organizations are to be assisted more in developing correct working methods.

The guiding and supervisory work of party committees of various levels has improved in content and has become more modern in its organization. By the application of policy at the local level, the sharing of experiences, and the relaying of the views of party members, they have contributed to the shaping of party policy. They have prepared the communists for the accomplishment of their tasks and successfully mobilized them for the implementation of resolutions.

The party committees of Budapest, of the counties, and of the cities with county rights have guided and supervised the political work conducted in their areas with great independence, responsibility, skill, and success. Significant changes have been made in the system of party direction. The district party committees, which for almost 4 decades fulfilled an important role in the life of the party and the country, have been discontinued. Their tasks have been taken over by the party committees of cities and of communities with city rights. The competence and independence of city and village party organs and organizations have increased. The number of branch party committees and leading party bodies has increased, and this has created better prerequisites for a direct guidance of basic organizations and supervisory work.

The basic party organizations are playing a large role in assuring that our policy is accepted and in organizing its implementation. In the period covered by the report, the activities of guiding, informing, and directly helping the basic organizations have become more favorable. The basic organizations have performed responsible and successful work, but development is not general, there are great differences in the standard of their activity. The communist community-shaping force and educational effect of the basic organizations are not satisfactory.

The party organizations operating in the area of production must prepare for the accomplishment of more complex tasks than previously. Asserting party policy locally requires greater political sensitiveness and a more resolute stance from the party organizations operating in the areas of culture, the arts, and the sciences. The work of the residential area and district basic organizations, which encompass some 20 percent of the party's members, has developed, but some of them cannot yet accomplish their tasks on an adequate standard. The guiding party organs everywhere should pay appropriate attention to helping their work.

We must free party work from formal elements and the uncalled-for regulation that reduces independence and responsibility. The guiding organs should not overtax basic organizations with mandatory agenda items and prescribed tasks. The strengthening of the political, movement-like nature of work should come to expression in a systematic and active politicization among the masses.

It is the task and responsibility of party organizations to nurture the communists to steadfastness and a modest and disciplined attitude, and to foster their ideological and political development. They are to act against nonparty-minded behavior, a behavior at variance with our moral norms, which can be observed in a small portion of party members. It must be resolutely demanded from all communists, irrespective of position, that they abide by the socialist norms.

The party has strengthened organizationally. It has 831,000 members, approximately 59,000 more than it had at the time of the 12th congress. Its ranks include, in an appropriate proportion, all social classes and strata. Workers and cooperative peasants account for three quarters of the party membership according to original occupation, and they account for more than half of the party membership according to present occupation. The ratio of women has developed favorably. The political, vocational, and general education of party members has risen.

The rate of increase in the number of party members is adequate, but party-building work among some intellectual strata and young people remains unsatisfactory. A rigid statistical outlook still exists in some places, because of which people approaching the party in sincerity and out of conviction are rejected. We impose great demands in admitting new members, but we do not always apply the same demands resolutely toward those in the party. Many party organizations have not yet arrived at the realization that party building does not only mean a replacement, but a continuous education of party members and a self-purification of the party as well. We must pay greater attention to political educational and party-building work among the working young and university and high school students. We must recognize that education of the party's replacements is an honorable duty for every single communist.

The party members' personal activity, their acceptance of responsibility, their readiness for sacrifices, and their socialist way of life represent the most important guarantee of the relations and mutual trust between the party and the masses.

That is why the Central Committee considers it important to more precisely outline the Communists' obligations in the organizational regulations as well. The party members' exemplary activity can multiply the strength of the party and widen the mass base of the implementation of its policy.

In the period of the report there has been an improvement in the cadre activity and the guiding and supervising activity of the party organs. There has been an improvement in the methodicalness and democracy of the cadre work, the exchange of cadres has become more deliberate and has increased, there has been a modernization of the system of choosing the leaders, and the training and suitability of the leaders have improved. A steady generational change has also emerged in the exchanges of leaders.

The majority of leaders meet the increasing requirements they are faced with. In recent years, their independence and initiative have increased and they are reacting more sensitively and rapidly to changes in the economic and social environment. At the same time, steps have had to be taken on a number of occasions against phenomena such as abuses of power, attempts to obtain unjustified financial advantages, egotism, self-complacency, and revenge taken for criticism. The Central Committee is aware of the fact that leadership work has become considerably more difficult and more responsible in every sphere. It highly appreciates the work of those leaders whose performance is better than average, who show initiative, who are capable of winning the masses over and mobilizing them, and who are setting an example with their political and moral conduct as well.

The party organizations support the leaders who take initiative, promote new things, and demand order and discipline. With the decentralization of decision-making rights on personal matters, there is an increasing fulfillment of the demand that the fate of the cadres be decided in places where their activity and behavior are best known. There has been a strengthening of the role of the elected organs of the party and of the social bodies in the preparation of personal matters. The decisions are now based on a broader opinion than previously.

Subjectivism, personal intertwining, and lack of consideration of the genuine performance continue to be some factors hindering the consistent assertion of cadre policy principles. There has been a considerable broadening of the replacement base of leaders; however, it happens that the candidate is elected from a narrow circle and the opinions of those directly interested in the decision are not taken into consideration when formulating the proposals. Fewer young people than is necessary and possible are entrusted with tasks that test their strength and serve their education. Certain leaders can tolerate only with difficulty a working partner who thinks and acts independently.

There is a need to more strictly demand the assertion of the principles of cadre policy. There is a need to further develop the exercising of the sphere of authority in the direction of increasing the responsibility of those making the proposals, and of not harming the rights of the electing and nominating organs. The party organs and organizations should urge and demand that the authorities solve those personal matters ripe for decision in time. They should take a stand against all manifestations of subjectivitism, and in cadre work as well, place the issue, the interests of the community in the forefront. Our party and our entire society are interested in ensuring that the largest possible number of suitable, well-educated, and talented young people fill leading positions; this also strengthens the healthy forging together of revolutionary experiences and youthful dynamism. The party organs should encourage, help, and supply political support to leaders who, based on their achievements, are worthy of this.

The MSZMP's organizational regulation fulfills its role and provides an adequate guarantee that the party's organs and organizations are operating in conformity with their purpose and the party membership is successfully carrying out its activity. Neither political nor other factors have justified the basic modification of the organizational regulations; therefore, it was not necessary to submit it to a general debate in the party. However, the experiences of party work, the changes that have taken place in society, and the observations made by the party membership make some amendments necessary.

The Central Committee is submitting the proposals on the modification of the organizational regulation to the congress. The modifications do not refer to the main principles of the party's organizational lift, but increase the requirements faced by the party organizations and party membership. The modifications create more favorable conditions for the development of party democracy and the strengthening of the movement-like nature of party work. They expand the rights and independence of the party organs, party basic organizations, and disciplinary committees. In the state organs and mass organizations, they make the party's guiding activity and the tasks and responsibilities of the communists working in this field more clear-cut and explicit.

The International Activity of the Party

In the period of the report, our party has carried out active international activity in order to promote the strengthening of collaborations among the communist and workers parties and the success of the struggle being waged for common goals. We have taken an active part in the activity of the common forums and events of the international communist movement. In the period of the report, the representatives of our party have held talks with the leaders of a total of 85 communist and Marxist-Leninist parties on more than 400 occasions. We maintained regular contact with more than 50 national democratic parties, national liberation movements, and socialist, social-democratic, and bourgeois parties.

Certain parties of the international communist and workers movement have increased their influence in the past 5 years. At the same time, the working conditions of other parties have become more unfavorable because international tension has increased, anticommunism has increased, and the working circumstances of the parties have become more complex.

Strengthening the socialist character of social relations and solving the tasks of the construction work are in the center of activity of the socialist countries' communist and workers parties. Taking into consideration the general common laws of socialism and each other's experience and interpreting them in accordance with their countries' concrete endowments, they are striving to find suitable forms by which it will be possible to increase the efficiency of the economic activity and to further develop socialist democracy. In the past period, those parties have strengthened their collaboration and cooperation in all areas of life.

The communist and workers parties of the capitalist countries are concentrating their attention on working out programs that provide answers to the economic and social problems affecting the masses, and that promote the safeguarding of the achievements of the working class, of the workers, attained in difficult struggle. They continue to work out the strategy and direct tasks aimed at safeguarding the long-term goals, interests, and democratic rights of the working masses.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist-oriented developing countries are making further efforts to eliminate the inherited backwardness and for creating the foundations of the new society.

Their situation and the solving of their extremely complex tasks are hampered by the fact that they are active amidst imperialist attacks, political and economic pressure, and military threats. In order to counterbalance this, they are increasingly relying on the experiences of the parties of the socialist countries. In addition, other developing countries' communist parties, which are struggling under extremely difficult conditions -- in many countries still underground, and in certain places, with arms as well, for their people's freedom, national independence, and social progress -- can likewise rely on the principled and practical solidarity of the socialist community.

The communist parties independently determine their own policies by applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the general laws of socialist revolution and construction in accordance with the national particularities and in harmony with concrete conditions. It also follows from their diverse positions that they regard different solutions as serving their purpose. In the past few years, there has been in practice a continuous exchange of views among the parties about the possible roads leading to socialism and about development to date, present-day conditions, and prospects of existing socialism.

Our party has taken an active part in finding answers to new theoretical-political questions and in clarifying differences of views, and by so doing, it has taken part in the creation of conditions indispensable for the joint action of communist and workers parties. Their positions equally reflect the sense of responsibility for the unity of the movement, the success of the common cause, and the defense of the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, and the recognition that there is need for a creative search for the road.

Our party attributes great importance to the international conferences of the communist and workers movement from the point of view of proletarian internationalism, strengthening the collaboration of communist and workers parties, the discovery of the possibilities of a necessary joint stand as regards the fundamental issues of mankind, and of outlining its concrete directions. In the period of the report, we have taken part in the activity of the Paris conference of communist and workers parties, in several theoretical and political meetings, and on several occasions we have personally initiated and organized exchanges of views in Hungary. We support all the forms of multilateral cooperation that fit the current situation and requirements of the communist movement and the generally accepted norms of relations among parties that successfully serve the success of the common cause, of social progress and safeguarding peace.

In the period covered by the report, our relations have developed with the CPSU, whose international role and historical experiences in socialist construction helps us accomplish our tasks. The continuous expansion of Hungarian-Soviet interparty relations has served well the strengthening of political, economic, scientific-technological and cultural cooperation between our countries and the deepening of friendship between our peoples. Our party's relations with the communist and workers parties of the rest of the fraternal socialist countries have further developed in accordance with mutual efforts.

We have strengthened our cooperation with the communist and workers parties operating in capitalist and developing countries in the spirit of international solidarity. We tried to ensure that, through our contacts, they were able to acquaint themselves as thoroughly as possible with the reality of existing socialism and appraise its prospects as realistically as possible.

We tried to ensure that contact should also remain regular with those parties that judge the issues debated in the communist movement differently. In our experiences, a frank exchange of views and patient argumentation strengthen respect for each other's views and the mutuality of the effort to understand each other's position and improve prerequisites for collaboration between parties.

In our party's view, ideological differences and divergences do not preclude a coincidence of certain fundamental interests and, in keeping with this, collaboration between various political parties and movements for the sake of resolving the most important issues facing mankind. Accordingly -- on the basis of our mutual interests attached to thwarting imperialist endeavors -- we have expanded our relations also in the past years with national democratic parties of developing countries and national liberation movements. For the sake of preserving world peace, limiting armament, and maintaining cooperation among countries with different social systems, we continued to conduct a dialogue and a regular exchange of views with socialist and social democratic parties. In the service of the same objectives, we have established contact also with middle-class parties having a realistic foreign political orientation in several west European capitalist countries.

Our party's international activity developed in conformity with our state foreign policy endeavors. Expansion of our interparty relations, at the same time, helped improve interstate cooperation as well. It served the accomplishment of the current tasks of socialist construction, ensuring the favorable international prerequisites necessary for it, and the universal cause of social progress and peace.

Our party's 13th congress is facing decisions responsibly, Our party membership and people expect the congress to set the most important tasks of our socialist constructive work realistically, recognizing the results of joint work and taking the unresolved problems carefully into account, and to work out for the next 5 years a forward-looking, feasible, and mobilizing program.

The Central Committee recommends that the congress confirm our commitment to socialism, social progress, and the universal cause of peace and manifest our party's firm determination to continue to advance on the Leninist path and, representing our people's fundamental interests, continue its devoted work toward creating a developed socialist society.

28 March Session

LD281313 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 28 Mar 85

[Text] The 13th MSZMP Congress is continuing its work in closed session. An hour ago, following the summation of the debate by Janos Kadar, the congress unanimously adopted the written report of the Central Committee and the oral supplementary by the first secretary. The delegates then adopted the written report of the Central Control Committee and its oral supplementary. The Editorial Committee's report was also adopted and the draft resolution, together with the proposed amendments, was unanimously approved. Finally, the delegates made a decision on the modification of the party statute and congress acknowledged the closing speech by Janos Kadar. The delegates are now consulting in closed session.

To summarize today's events at the congress, let me say that the session began at 0900 when the chairman of the session announced that, in accordance with the decision taken yesterday, the speeches were now at an end. Let me recall that it was also decided yesterday that those delegates not being given the chance to address the congress would be able to submit their views in writing and these written contributions would be appended to the congress documents.

Miklos Ovari, chairman of the Editorial Committee, reported this morning that his committee had declared the draft resolution to be in line with the reports of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee and with the verbal supplements delivered by Janos Kadar and Andras Gyenes on Monday.

The Central Committee secretary then went on to say that there was no need for any substantive alterations to the draft resolution because it already included the stand adopted at earlier debates. Let us now recall Miklos Ovari's words from a recording:

[Begin Ovari recording] The comrade delegates who addressed the congress expressed their agreement with the draft resolution. No proposals for modifying the substance of its contents have been made and this has made the work of the Editorial Committee that much easier. Nevertheless, it was our view that, by taking into account the points expressed during the debate, it would be right to enrich the text of the resolution by adding a few more sentences for emphasis. Taking into account the precongress debates and the stand adopted at party conferences, we propose to add to the congress resolution that the party considers it an important task to pay continuous attention to the development of the position of the working class. Improving the living conditions of the village population is to remain an important task in the future, too.

We consider it necessary that the resolution should deal with the importance of supervision. For this reason, we propose to include an additional sentence in the resolution to the effect that the assertion of socialist legality requires consistent and resolute supervision and, within that framework, the development of the work of the people's control committees.

On the basis of contributions made at party conferences and at the congress, we propose a statement on the need for literature and the arts to contribute to the enrichment of the awareness of reality and to the shaping of the view of life and conduct of people.

Several speakers at our congress spoke about the importance of human factors. For this reason, we propose that the resolution should include the task that we should help to develop the people's creative abilities by developing science, culture, and education.

The comrade delegates also spoke with emphasis about respect for creative work and socialist values. They proposed, and we are now recommending for approval, that these should be given greater emphasis in the mass communication of information. [end recording]

You have just been listening to Miklos Ovari, head of the Editorial Committee of the congress. His words were followed by Janos Kadar's speech that summarized the debate:

[Begin Kadar recording] Esteemed congress, dear comrades and female comrades: A total of 58 comrades spoke in the course of the debate. In addition to them, as we heard yesterday, many others asked for the floor -- more than 194 of them -- but I would like to repeat here that all those comrades who wished to speak and could not and who made their contribution in writing -- and there really were many of those -- I would like to assure them that their contribution will be attached to the minutes of the congress. The organs of the Central Committee, which are obliged to process (?everything) voiced at the congress, will utilize the written contributions in just the same way as the oral ones.

If you will permit me, I have no hesitation in passing judgment on the combined debate on the two points on the agenda, and I can do so with great decisiveness and deep conviction. This debate was an open, responsible, and high level debate. Almost without exception the contributions contained elements of criticism, self-criticism, and yet, were constructive.

This is very good. In a certain sense I join with the congress in noting something that obviously has made an impression on those who are following the congress: The congress itself, the comrade delegates, and the people who are here by permanent invitation, followed all the contributions with great discipline and attention.

I consider that this debate also demonstrates that all our party members, and all the party organs, prepared in the appropriate manner for this congress. Therefore this congress and its deliberations has suitably crowned all the party's preparations for this congress.

Something else occurred to me while following the debate, and doing so with attention. I believe you remember certain statements in the report of the mandate committee. These, I believe, have very great significance. We have spoken a great deal about the activities of the party after the congress and also of the 40th anniversary of the liberation. If we recall a certain feeling in ourselves -- naturally only those who carried out active party or social work at that time -- we must remember that the army of Communists at that time, which was also a battle-hardened army -- I could almost say as it was natural for people who emerged from the ranks of the repressed working class, and from the ranks of the repressed people -- well, they were, so to speak, people who were educating themselves. The source of their knowledge, their fundamental realization of the class struggle, arose from their experience of life and culture acquired thorough self-education.

The mandate committee put forward many nice statistics here. I am particularly heartened -- because of the reasons given here -- by the fact that now, after 40 years, out of the congress delegates participating in the discussion 47 percent attended high-level party school, more than 63 percent possess higher level state qualification, 10 percent possess research degrees, and there are 9 academicians. Well, this also reflects the tremendous development of the party, of our party cadres, and of our society. [end recording]

After this, Janos Kadar spoke about the realization of democratic centralism:

[Begin Kadar recording] In place of decisionmaking, in its process, the freest possible debate must be realized. We ourselves -- the Central Committee, which will soon conclude its work -- have secured this. It will be very good if it continues in the future, not just in the highest organs of the party elected by the congress, but also in the lives of the Budapest party committee, the country party committees, and in every party committee and party organization. In the course of decisionmaking let everyone express his views freely, without reservations. There must not be any detrimental consequences for the individual concerned. This is very important in order to ensure that every question can be evaluated in the most careful and most multifaceted manner and that the right decision can be made.

However, what follows democratic socialism is that once the body authorized to make a decision has decided, whatever views someone expressed before the decision was made, the decision is obligatory for every member of the body and everyone must represent the majority decision to those outside. [applause] [end recording]

In his closing speech, the first secretary of the Central Committee spoke about the issues that emerged over the 3 days of discussions, and finally discussed the role of the party:

[Begin Kadar recording] Finally, I would like to emphasize in connection with the role of the party that our party is Marxist-Leninist. We, our party, and we Hungarian communists, are guided by socialist and communist principles.

There is a socialist social order in our country. People's power -- people's state: These are our motivating forces. Nevertheless, what I say is that the Marxist-Leninist principle, the theory of scientific socialism -- because in our age there is no longer any other scientific socialism -- the principles of socialism and communism, the socialist social order, and the people's power itself, the people's state, have some sort of purpose. They do not exist for themselves. We have set out our goal, the currently topical goal: construction of a developed socialist society. But this is not just for the sake of the word. I think -- though perhaps it is not necessary, but I will mention -- that I thought, even as a very young man, that Marx, Engels, and later Lenin had not worked out the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its foundations, which have stood the test of time, in order to -- I do not know -- gain glory for themselves, but rather so that the working class could be liberated, so that the exploitation of man by man should cease, that the power of imperialism should be broken and that the peoples should be able to live in freedom and peace. It is in this sense that I am returning to the work of the congress. Those who were able to follow it are aware that Marxism-Leninism is our compass -- which we cannot and will not let go of, will never let go of. But what we are working for is that the working man, all working people, and the people, should attain a high level of welfare and should live better than up to now and should be able to look forward to a better future.

What we work for is that the whole land, the country, should blossom. This is our target. [applause] [end recording]

The work of the congress is continuing in closed session.

Officials Elected

LD281809 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1543 GMT 28 Mar 85

[Text] We wish you a good day, listeners, now that we are reporting from the Budapest Congress Center and from its Patria Hall where the 13th MSZMP Congress has been in session for the past 4 days. Let us say a few words about this new venue, after all this is the first occasion that a consultation with such a high degree of responsibility and significance has been held here. At the front of the hall there is a stage positined slightly higher than the rest of the auditorium. It is reserved for the presidium of the congress. The rostrum is also positioned there. Janos Kadar just took his seat in the presidium and he is being applauded now. The delegates and the invited guests have also taken their seats. Now Janos Kadar rises to speak:

[Kadar] Dear comrades and women comrades, esteemed guests: The congress is resuming its work now. The congress held its closed session. It heard and approved the report of the Appeals Committee. It elected the members of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee. Afterward, the Central Committee held its first session. It elected the officers of its executive organs, the heads and members of the working committees functioning alongside the Central Committee, and the chairmen of the working collectives. It appointed the Central Committee heads of departments and the central party press and party institutions heads.

The Central Control Committee also held a meeting and elected its chairman, secretary, and the members of the Secretariat. I request Comrade Sandor Caspar to read out the decisions.

[Gaspar] Esteemed congress, dear women comrades and comrades: The congress elected the Central Committee at a closed session. The congress elected a 105-member Central Committee. Its members are comrades:

Gyorgy Aczel
Albert Antaloczy
Gabor Apati-Nagy
Antal Apro
Tibor Baranyai
Valeria Benke
Frigyes Berecz
Janos Berecz
(Istavan Bonyai)
Gabor Borbely
Sandor Borbely
Janos Brutyo
Robert Burgert
Judit Csehak
Istvan Cserhati
Mrs Ferenc Cservenka
Lajos Czinege
Gabor Deak
Laszlo Deak
Mrs Lajos Duschek
Lajos Faluvegi
Gyorgy Fejti
Jeno Fock
Mrs (Katalin Fodor, nee Birges)
Sandor Gaspar
Janos Geczi
Mrs Laszlo Glanz
Karoly Grosz
Ferenc Gubicza
Mrs (Andras Gerboczki)
Istvan Gyongyosi
Ferenc Havasi
Csaba Hamori
Istvan Hars
Karoly Herczeg
Zsuzsa Hollan
Janos Hoos
Gyula Horn
Ede Horvath
Istvan Horvath
Jozsef Horvath
Istvan Huszar
(Endre Jokai)
Gyorgy Juscsak
Janos Kamara
Laszlo Kapolyi
Laszlo Karakas
Imre Katona
Istvan Katona
Janos Kadar
Gyula Kallai
Erzsebet Kanya
Ferenc Karpati
Istvan Kiss
Imre Klenovics
Mihaly Kornidesz
Mihaly Korom
Geza Kotai
Laszlo Kovacs
(Lajos Koveskuti)
Sandor Lakos
Gyorgy Lazar
Pal Losonczi
Janos Lukacs
Jozsef Marjai
Laszlo Marothy
Lajos Mehes
Peter Mod
Lajos Morocz
Dezso Nemes
Karoly Nemeth
Rezso Nyers
Istvan Olah
(Bela Osztaczi)
Miklos Ovari
Lenard Pal
Janos Peter
Imre Pozsgay
Jozsef Ponya
Sandor Rajnai
Peter Renyi
Ferenc Revesz
Pal Romany
Istvan Sarlos
Gyorgy Sikula
Istvan Szabo from county Hajdu,
Istvan Szabo from county Szolnok
Jozsef Szakali
Zoltan Szepvolgyi
Istvan Szlamenickzy
Ferenc Szucs
Mrs Istvan Szucs
Matyas Szuros
Mrs Imre Takacs
Pal Tetenyi
Mrs Toth, nee Maria Kiss
Istvan Tompe
Istvan Trombitas
Gyorgy Vajda
Laszlo Varga
Peter Varga
Jeno Vancsa
Peter Varkonyi

Peter Veress

As Comrade Kadar already reported, the Central Committee held its first session, elected the executive organs of the Central Committee, and made appointments.

The Central Committee elected a 13-member Politburo. Its members are comrades:

Gyorgy Aczel
Sandor Gaspar
Karoly Grosz
Ferenc Havasi
Csaba Hamori
Janos Kadar
Gyorgy Lazar
Pal Losonczi
Laszlo Marothy
Karoly Nemeth
Milos Ovari
Istvan Sarlos
Istvan Szabo

[applause]

The Central Committee elected the new eight-member Secretariat. The members of the Secretariat are comrades:

Janos Kadar
Karoly Nemeth
Janos Berecz
Ferenc Havasi
Istvan Olah [as heard; Budapest MTI in English at 1753 GMT on 28 March lists Istvan Horvath]
Miklos Ovari
Lenard Pal
Matyas Szuros

[applause]

The Central Committee elected its general secretary and deputy general secretary. I think it is to the joy and satisfaction of all of us that the Central Committee has again elected Comrade Janos Kadar as its first secretary. [as heard] [applause lasting 30 seconds]

[Announcer] Applause greets Janos Kadar, who is now secretary general of the MSZMP.

[Gaspar] The Central Committee elected Comrade Karoly Nemeth as deputy secretary general.

The Central Committee elected the Economic Committee functioning alongside the Central Committee. Its chairman is Comrade Ferenc Havasi. Its members are comrades:

Laszlo Ballai
Tamas Beck
Lajos Faluvegi
Laszlo Gal
Imre Pardi
Pal Tetenyi

The Agitation-Propaganda Committee also was elected. Its chairman is Janos Berecz. Its members are comrades:

Lenard Pal
Judit Csehak
Istvan Hars
Istvan Huszar
Mihaly Kornidesz
Bela Kopeczi
Erno Lakatos
Sandor Lakos
Ferenc Pusztai
Katalin Radics

The Central Committee elected the heads of the working collectives functioning alongside the Central Committee. Comrade Karoly Nemeth is head of the MSZMP building working group. Comrade Havasi is head of the economic working group. Comrade Havasi is also head of the cooperative policy working group. Comrade Lenard Pal is head of the educational-political working group. Comrade Karoly Nemeth is head of the Youth Policy Committee. Here we are only dealing with the heads of the working collectives. In accordance with party traditions, arrangements regarding membership of the collectives will be made at a later date.

The Central Committee, while recognizing their merits, relieved the following comrades of their posts:

Comrade Tibor Baranyai from the post of head of the Party and Mass Organizations Department. As the comrades will know, Comrade Baranyai was elected secretary-general of the National Council of Trade Unions a few weeks ago. At the request of the party, he was loaned to the party because he had work here. He has carried that out and will now begin his work with the trade unions.

The Central Committee relieved Comrade Gyula Horn of his post as head of the Foreign Affairs Department [as heard] because he is moving to another important state post. For the same reason the Central Committee also relieved of his post Comrade Pal Tetenyi. He is to move to another important post. Comrade Istvan Katona was relieved of his post at his request to be retired because of his state of health.

The Central Committee appointed the Central Committee heads of departments and the heads of party institutions:

Comrade Erno Lakatos is head of the Agitation-Propaganda Department of the party; Comrade Laszlo Ballai is head of the Economic Policy Department; Comrade Peter Varga is head of the Public Administration and Administration Department; Comrade Miklos Ovari, as secretary of the Central Committee, is head of the Secretariat's Bureau [as heard]; Comrade Geza Kolai is head of the Foreign Affairs Department; Comrade Istvan Petrovszki is head of the Party and Mass Organizations Department; Comrade Laszlo Karakas is head of the Party Management and Administration Department; Comrade Katalin Radics is head of the Scientific, Public Education, and Cultural Affairs Department.

Comrade Jozsef Szabo is rector of the Political Academy; Comrade Gyorgy Aczél, as a member of the Politburo, is director general of the Sociology Institute; Comrade Istvan Huszar is director of the Party History Institute.

Comrade Valeria Benke is chairperson of the Editorial Committee of TARSADALMI SZEMLE; Comrade Sandor Lakos is the responsible editor of PARTELET; the Central Committee will make arrangements to fill the post of editor-in-chief of NEPSZABADSAG at a later date.

The Central Committee will recommend to the Presidential Council that Janos Kamara be relieved of his current post as state secretary of the Ministry of Interior and be appointed minister of the interior. Arrangements to that effect will be made at a later date.

Dear comrades, the congress elected the Central Control Committee. Its members are comrades:

Janos Borbandi
Andras Csillik
Antal Ernszt
Mrs Lajos Farkas
Lajos Farkasinszky
Mrs Jozsef Feher
Andras Gyenes
Imre Gyori
Mihaly Jasso
Ference Koszorus
Arpad Kovacs
Lajos Krasznai
Karoly Majoros
Jozsef K. Papp
Ferenc Petrak
Sandor Postas
Sandor Racz
Lajos Rev
(Karoly Rolf)
Sandor Sebes
Imre Somogyi
Jozsef Suhajda
Sandor Szerenyi
Imre Takacs
Janos Tausz
Gyula Uszta
Miklos Zsuffa

The Central Control Committee also held its first session and elected its officers. The Central Control Committee once again elected Comrade Andras Gyenes its chairman and Comrade Imre Somogyi its secretary. The members of the Secretariat are comrades:

Janos Borbandi
Mrs Lajos Farkas
Arpad Kovacs
Lajos Krasznai
Ferenc Petrak
Lajos Rev
Janos Tausz

Thank you very much. [applause]

[Announcer] Once again Janos Kadar rises to speak.

[Kadar] Esteemed congress, dear comrades: On behalf of the elected Central Committee and Central Control Committee, I would like to express thanks for the trust shown here. The members of the Central Committee and of the Central Control Committee will endeavor to be worthy of it.

Dear comrades, our congress concluded its work. According to my conviction, the 13th MSZMP Congress fulfilled the responsible task that belonged to it. It surveyed the experiences of the work of the past 5 years, it evaluated the situation, with the tasks awaiting us, and prescribed the tasks that are obligatory for all of us, as well as the direction for further development.

The congress itself approved the direction of the main political line pursued by the party to date and took a very definite stand that we would consistently continue along the path traveled thus far and would in the present stage work on the construction of the developed socialist society.

In speaking about the work of the congress, I repeat my deep conviction that it fulfilled its task in the appropriate manner. For this, for the work that was carried out, I thank the congress delegates, I thank the invited comrades, and I thank the numerous people who facilitated the work of the congress in the most diverse spheres. I would like to give special thanks to the invited foreign comrades who came here. With their presence they deepened and strengthened the profound solidarity that links us with the socialist countries and with the communist and workers' parties, the fraternal parties, fighting in the capitalist countries.

When I repeatedly thank them for their presence and for the words that they addressed to us, I ask them to take our warm comradely greetings, our message to the struggle and the fraternal parties they represent. When they inform them of the work of our congress, we ask them to be so kind as to say that they participated in the congress of a party that steadfastly and consistently fights for socialism and peace and that endeavors to achieve the best, the most direct cooperation with the leading parties of the socialist countries and with their peoples, with the masses of the fraternal parties, in an internationalist spirit. [applause]

We ask them to convey our best wishes; we wish them success. We are saying that out of principled conviction, with the feeling of fraternal solidarity, and also because of our own interest. The success of all of them enhances our joint, great forces, which (?strengthens) the masses struggling for progress, socialism, and peace all over the world.

I would like to take this opportunity, in the concluding minutes of the congress, in front of the forum of the congress, to greet our party member, our working class, our people. We have endeavored to carry out our work in a responsible spirit and we ask all our party members, our working class, and our people engaged in the construction of socialism, to help in realising our endeavors. Let us build, together, if possible with a greater momentum, the socialist homeland. [applause]

We have concluded our work. Our congress has ended. What I say to all those who are present here and to all those who listen to the words of our party, is this: Let us go forward uniting all the positive forces of the homeland, who want something better, behind the goals of the 13th MSZMP Congress, that serve the welfare of the people as well.

Long live the MSZMP, the leading force of our society; long live our people engaged in the construction of socialism; long live our country, which has been free for these 40 years. [applause]

Long live proletarian internationalism and the friendship between peoples [applause]; long live socialism and peace. [applause, followed by "The Internationale"]

I close the 13th MSZMP Congress. I wish you good health and success.

[Announcer] Dear listeners, with the words of Janos Kadar, secretary general of the MSZMP, the 13th MSZMP Congress ends.

KADAR ELECTION, ACCELERATION OF REFORMS VIEWED

DW290949 Hamburg ARD Television Network in German 2130 GMT 28 Mar 85

[Interview with MSZMP Central Committee member Peter Renyi in Budapest by ARD correspondent Norbert Briegar; date not given, in German, from the "Tagesthemen" program]

[Text] [Brieger] At the age of 72, Janos Kadar is taking charge of a newly created, representative office. Does this mean more power for him or does it herald his gradual withdrawal from active politics?

[Renyi] I would not say more power. Kadar's influence on Hungarian policies is not as much attributable to his power as it is to his prestige and popularity. It means a certain relief for him if, by protocol, he has a clearly recognizable deputy who can substitute for him in certain activities with the title of deputy. This would mean some relief of his burdens, and I think that this was most likely the reason for this arrangement.

[Brieger] At this party congress, Kadar stressed quite clearly twice that the Hungarian party's reform course must not be decelerated. Will this course be able to retain its pace, I wonder?

[Renyi] I think so. I would even venture to say -- provided one can measure reforms with a speedometer -- that the pace will even increase. This is simply the consequence of the situation as it is. You watched the party congress here, so you heard how many demands are being raised here on the economy, the party, the state, and society. Everyone wants more, and everyone is perfectly entitled to say so. Hence, we must perform better, and better performance requires more flexible activities as well as more reforms.

[Brieger] Can this society digest even more liberalization within the framework of the socialist planned economy?

[Renyi] Let us avoid a terminology discussion. We do not call it liberalization but democratization. We call it reforms. Society can bear a lot, but in fact it does not need to make this effort because it is exactly the other way around: Society grows stronger through these reforms.

URBAN COMMENTS ON ECONOMY, FRG, WARSAW PACT

AU281202 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Mar 85 pp 4-5

[Transcript of press conference by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban to Polish journalists at the Interpress Center in Warsaw on 19 March]

[Excerpts] Bernard Margueritte, LE FIGARO: I would like to ask several questions at the same time because I have just come back from vacation...

Urban: You have the right to ask all the questions you would have harassed me with if you had not been sunbathing.

Margueritte: The latest economic figures for the first 2 months of this year show further economic difficulties. Can one conclude from these results that we are facing a slower emergence from the crisis?

Second question: Could you tell us more about the talks that General Jaruzelski held in Moscow? Third, question: Poland has spoken out in favor of a renewal of the Warsaw Pact. If this occurs, it should happen in May. Can one expect a summit meeting in Poland's capital?

Urban: The economic results for January and February are indeed worse than before. This is the government's chief concern. The reasons are mainly connected with various economic difficulties resulting from the exceptionally severe winter. In any case, it is not only in Poland that the economic effects of this winter have been considerable. Expenditures on communal services have also risen as a result. However, saying that this means a slower emergence from the crisis is not true. I will not be able to say until the end of the year if these 2 bad months mean that the whole year's results will be bad. The economic leadership is trying very energetically to repair the damage caused by the winter. I hope we will do so. Only about halfway through the year will we be able to forecast anything by looking at production in April, May, and June. The disorganization of life caused by the heavy frosts was much less than in many other countries, and less than at the end of the seventies, when there were similar frosts.

The second question concerned the Moscow meetings. In Moscow there were talks with key personalities from the GDR, FRG, Italy, and Finland, and with the UN secretary general. Therefore, the contacts by the Polish leaders there was broad. This highlights the meaning of Poland's voice in the world. There was also a meeting of the leaders of the socialist countries. Friendship and closer relations with the USSR and socialist countries have fundamental importance for us. For we have permanent, solid, and tested support there, and CEMA economic cooperation assures us the possibility of stable and steady development. And this is what creates the basis for normal cooperation with the nonsocialist countries.

General Wojciech Jaruzelski's meeting with FRG Chancellor Kohl drew considerable attention from the world press. One should comment on this meeting by considering the broader background of relations between the two countries. This meeting conformed to our constantly declared desire to improve relations with the FRG and the FRG also seems to be following this path lately. This pleases us.

We regard the FRG Government's apparent aim to improve relations with the PPR as an expression of that government's efforts to respond to a considerable segment of FRG society, including that part of it represented by the SPD and consisting of the SPD electorate. This very large section of FRG public opinion supports the 1970 treaty, just as the SPD itself dows. The SPD is in favor of the full implementation of the letter and spirit of the treaty, without any vacillation and meandering. Our relations with leading SPD activists are based on favorable trends. Soon we will welcome in Warsaw Mr. Bangemann, FRG minister of economics. This meeting not only has economic significance, but also political significance, because the FRG minister of economics is also the leader of the FDP. We have noted with satisfaction statements by Minister Genscher on PPR-FRG relations. His statements were confirmed by Minister Genscher's working visit to Warsaw and by the promise of an official visit later.

As far as the meeting between Chancellor Kohl and Premier Jaruzelski itself is concerned, the circumstances of the meeting and the limited time available meant that the participants only touched on the problems existing between our countries. There was not enough time to expand on them. They recognized that it will be useful to continue the talks at an appropriate time. This shows that the FRG's seeking of ways to improve mutual relations seems real. The PPR Government believes that everything that hampers these relations in the FRG and interferes with their improvement must be eliminated. In our view, there is an honest intention on the part of the FRG to improve relations. On our par, such an intention is firm and honest. This is a good sign. Declarations will not determine results, but rather concrete facts. We hope that the economic talks with the FRG minister of economics will bring progress in economic cooperation. This is a very important platform for developing relations, and it requires normalization. Everything I have said does not mean that our anxiety connected with the strong wave of revisionism in the FRG does not remain.

The next question: I wish to remind you that the Warsaw Pact began in 1955, in other words only 6 years after NATO. It was formed when the remilitarized FRG was accepted into NATO. By the way, it was remilitarized in defiance of the Yalta decisions whereby the threat of war should never again emanate from Germany. The Warsaw Pact has been and still is performing a constructive peaceful role. It is a defensive pact. This pact has fundamental importance for the PPR. It protects our borders, and also protects us against the launching of all those missiles aimed at the PPR, among other places.

That the pact works has been proven. Europe has been a basically peaceful continent since World War II, thanks to the pact. The current situation requires a confirmation of the alliance and a renewal of the pact. This has already been officially stated by the Warsaw Pact member-states. This pact is very necessary. However, where, when, and how the pact will be confirmed and renewed is a subject of further agreement between the countries concerned. I only wish to add that the countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact have declared and still declare that the dissolution of NATO will cause the immediate dissolution of the Warsaw Pact.

Guenter Schubert, West German television: I have a more general question. Two months after the Torun trial, I would like to have your opinion on the events and effects caused to society and the country by the murder of Father Popieluszko and the Torun trial.

Urban: These effects are varied. Above all, the killing of Father Popieluszko has shown that state-church relations are based on such a solid foundation that during all disagreements between the state and the church and during all the differences in opinions, no provocation, not even such a well-aimed one, and no individual dramatic event are in a position to shake them.

It has also shown that wider sections of Polish society do not allow themselves to be provoked into actions that would violate public order at a given moment or made to alter their attitudes toward calm and the country's development by any single incident, not even such a disturbing and dramatic one. Furthermore, the case has revealed the determination of all state authorities to punish armed crimes, especially atrocities like this, regardless of who the perpetrator was and what his motives were. Finally, the fact that a certain press taboo, or to be more exact a taboo on public discussion on church affairs and on irregularities occurring within the church has been broken is also connected with the trial. Church affairs used to be taboo. Before the ninth party congress, there were trends within the party and society that encouraged the disappearance of all taboos in Poland. Therefore, I think one can say that it is good that church affairs are discussed publicly, which they are with great variety in the Catholic and non-Catholic press. The public in Poland has seen that affairs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are not taboo, and that this is no special enclave, but a state institution subject to the same laws and regulations from which no institution may be excluded.

As far as the aftermath of the Torun trial is concerned, I wish to say that written substantiations were supplied to the relevant parties on 12 March, and that a review of the sentence may be applied for within 14 days of this date. One should expect the appearance of material that will initiate this review procedure.

Joerg Bremer, FRANKFURTHER ALLGEMEINE: I would like to get back to the Warsaw Pact. Is the PPR Government quite simply in favor of an extension of the pact's validity, or does it want a modification and the addition of new decisions or paragraphs?

Urban: In reply, perhaps I will quote from Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski's Sejm speech. He said the following on this subject: "Poland firmly advocates an extension of the validty of this alliance, in other words the Warsaw Pact. The extension of the validty of the Warsaw Pact this year is also the wish of all the member-states. Poland will continuously contribute to the fulfillment of its commitments as an ally and to the maintenance of our pact's proper defense capability and readiness." I have nothing to add.

Robert Strybel, the Polonian press: Minister, a week ago you suggested that the state-church talks on the agricultural foundation had not taken place for such a long time because the church officials went away to Japan, Australia, and other countries. A meeting was planned prior to this trip, but the government asked at the last moment for it to be postponed. My second question in this connection concerns the government's position on the official press propaganda to the effect that at one time the foundation was to be worth $4 billion, but actually it is not worth a single dollar, because nothing can be paid into it until it is registered. The third problem I want to bring up is that the government is now talking about customs duties and taxation, although everyone knows that each customs duty or tax imposed on the foundation will merely reduce the assistance for Polish farming.

Urban: As for your last question, I would like to say that this is not a place to negotiate the terms of the foundation or the issues of customs duties and taxation, which are much more complicated than you think. We will not discuss these issues here, because they require good legal knowledge and expertise and have to be negotiated in confidence. In any case, it is certain that the government does not intend to hinder any assistance for farmers. However, all regulations must fit in with our legal system. It is also necessary to realize that whereas the assistance for farmers may be subject to far-reaching concessions, it does not follow that every operation of a given institution is bound to benefit by such concessions and so on. I do not want to go any deeper into this because I do not want to get involved in the speculations in which I am not competent and against which I also warn you.

As for the postponement of the meeting in question, the Western press wrote that the chief government negotiator had been taken ill. Our negotiator was indeed taken ill and the negotiators of the other side did go abroad. This does happen. Our negotiator was soon fit, and, as far as I know, only one meeting did not take place. I learned this from the Western press and I did check on its report. The thing is that the Western press erroneously traced this illness to Kazimierz Barcikowski and took him to be the chief negotiator. The fact is that K. Barcikowski is head of the government representation in the joint commission and not of the group that deals with the foundation. The Western press was mistaken. Please repeat your last question, as I am unable to decipher it from my jottings.

Robert Strybel: What does the government think about the press propaganda to the effect that despite promises of large sums of money for the foundation not a single dollar has been paid because it cannot be paid as things are now?

Urban: It is not the physical flow of dollars that is at stake here. The thing is that, as we know from the Western press as well, the foundation's resources are very scanty in comparison with the original promises. This is the crux of the matter. The press publications you have in mind are based on the situation as it is and are close to what I said at my previous press conference, citing similar views of the Catholic Church respresentatives.

Robert Gilette, THE LOS ANGELES TIMES: Could you tell us the present situation in connection with the accord that the PPR initialed last January with the Paris Club? Are there any obstacles to the signing of this accord -- obstacles such as the PPR's demand that new loans should be advanced to it?

Urban: Following the initialing of the accord with the Paris Club, it is necessary for the PPR to hold talks with the Paris Club countries on settling the issues of economic cooperation and the repayment of our debts. Most of these countries have still not begun such talks with us. You are wrong when you say that the PPR is demanding new loans. Our position is a little different. If the PPR had signed the Paris Club accord, it would have assumed the obligation of paying back certain sums of money by certain deadlines. Every country, like every person, must make sure when contracting fiscal obligations, that it will be able to honor these obligations. If the PPR had the necessary funds in convertible currencies it would pay back its debts and would not have to negotiate with the Paris Club. However, the PPR has no such funds and has to base its plan for repayments on its assumed ability to earn convertible currencies. To be able to make such assumptions and evaluations, the PPR must know the conditions of its economic cooperation with the West in the immediate future. As you know, to be able to repay we must greatly increase our exports because it is actually the goods that we offer to the West in repayment of our debts. A high increase in exports requires a corresponding increase in imports, which necessitates a normalization of our fiscal relations with foreign counties, including possibilities for obtaining loans to be used primarily for proexport production and for repayments of debts.

Robert Strybel: What is the volume of the gifts now arriving in Poland compared with say the past 3 or 4 years? What are now the most urgent needs? Disposable syringe, food, or some other commodities?

Urban: The volume of these gifts has greatly shrunk, but I am unable to advance any figures because it is not the government that is receiving the gifts. Nor am I able to state whether people need anything. You should ask the Polish Red Cross. Gifts from abroad do not solve any nationwide social problems and their quantity is such as to make no difference to the government estimates of our needs.

The next question I have received is why we attack the United States when we are so interested in loans and economic cooperation. We do not attack the United States. All we do is to respond to the attacks made against Poland by U.S. officials. For example, the U.S. representative in the UN Human Rights Committee in Geneva spoke offensively about the PPR recently. We want a normalization of relations and we do not intend to make propaganda or other attacks against the United States. However, we do respond and will continue to respond to the U.S. attacks against us. The question in this connection suggests that the PPR continues to attack the United States and, at the same time, to beg for money. All this is untrue: We neither attack nor beg for money. All we want is to normalize relations, which amounts to a certain standard of coexistence between countries and to economic cooperation, which two countries assume when it is in their mutual interest. It is in the interest of the PPR to promote economic cooperation with the United States and with any other country. We think that a large and mighty country such as America is also interested in developing cooperation with the countries in our political area, although trading with the PPR has never been of any significant size for the United States. I would like to ask you not to regard these issues in terms of our begging for anything. Our demand is that the United States stop harassing us and imposing illegal sanctions. It is certain that in a suitable climate our economic cooperation will develop in such forms and to such an extent as will benefit our two countries. In a word, I issue a most emphatic denial that we attack the United States.

Robert Strybel: Either 122 or 52 intellectuals have recently addressed a letter to the Sejm, asking for a resumption of investigations into mysterious kidnappings in Torun or the Torun region. Has this letter arrived in the Sejm? Have you anything to say on this subject? Does the government encourage citizens to write open letters and to collect signatures under petitions as a worthy way of safeguarding their rights?

Urban: I do not know whether that letter did arrive. I would have to carry with me a very heavy record of correspondence maintained by the Council of Ministers Office. We receive an enormous number of letters every day. We greatly value letters addressed to us, even though they may be very critical. However, it is our wish that individual citizens should state their views as individuals because collecting signatures under petitions usually means that people sign them without really knowing what they sign. They often sign them because they want to express their solidarity with the petitioners or because they find it difficult to refuse. Such collective petitions are of no service to public life. Please understand what I have said as something that does not encourage collective petitions. Satisfied?

Robert Strybel: Yes.

BEDNARSKI INTERVIEWED ON ROLE OF INTELLIGENTSIA

AU281144 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Mar 85 pp 1-2

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Sectretary Henryk Bednarski by Krystyna Kostrzewa: "The Intelligentsia As Well"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Kostrzewa: The intelligentsia is not the core of the workers party. So why will it shortly be the subject of a PZPR plenum? Has this plenum anything to do with last year's workers plenum or the one after that which dealt with the state and the broadly-conceived superstructure, or does it stem from some sudden goals?

Bednarski: It is true that it is the workers social base of the PZPR which determines its class nature, just as in other Marxist-Leninist parties.

The workers class and its interests also determine the party's ideological and political orientation, this party being the guiding force of a state which is building socialism. This orientation, however, also contains broadly-conceived interests of other classes and groups of working people -- including the intelligentsia. Therefore, the intelligentsia also finds itself in the party's sphere of interest. The party fully appreciates the interdependence between socialist political transformations and the intelligentsia's work and social position. It is the performance of the workers class' political program, a program foreseeing an alteration in the social structure, which has given the intelligentsia the chance of a new position in the hierarchy of social roles and needs. These have been generally created by the quantitative and qualitative development of the intelligentsia which accompanied the socialist transformations in our country.

Today, at a time when these tranformation have slowed down and we are asking ourselves what to do next, it is becoming all the more necessary to consider the role, place, and task of individual intelligentsia groups in social life. The entire shape of the political phenomena that occurred on the threshold of the seventies and eighties encourages such a reflection. Taking those conditions into account, we can say that those PZPR Central Committee plenums, dealing with the universal development of the workers class and intelligentsia and with their roles in the state, complement each other.

Kostrzewa: Have the preparations for the plenum answered the question of what our intelligentsia really is? Have we a sufficient intelligentsia, or an inadequate one? Is it really prepared to perform the role assigned to it? Opinions often contradict each other; first one hears about excessive training of people, and then about a weak training that fails to keep up with world norms in this sphere. Even you have said, Comrade Secretary, that the intelligentsia's development has been slowed down...

Bednarski: A full reply can only be given after we have taken into account earlier observations and tests. I say full reply because there has unfortunately been a clear slump in scientific research into the structure of society. Nevertheless, the typical problems and shortcomings, as well as all the positive aspects of the intelligentsia's situation in Poland, are generally known. One can say that a general shortage of intelligentsia cannot be felt, but there are professions whose development is constantly behind the needs of society, for example medicine and some specialist areas of teaching. The structure of teaching cadres in higher education is unfavorable, because the scientific-intellectual advancement of young employees is too slow. We observe a disturbing trend whereby the Polish professional staff is aging. There are serious shortcomings in the training of intelligentsia in the arts, a group which plays a huge role in the ideological sphere and in society's level of culture. The greatest problem, however, is the insufficient use of the intellectual potential presented by the modern Polish intelligentsia. In many cases, we are wasting the nation's intellectual strength. Therefore, the main problem does not lie in the constant numerical development of the intelligentsia, to which the plenum will certainly draw attention.

Kostrzewa: As I understand it, a plenum devoted to the intelligentsia is at the same time clear proof that emphasis is being laid on accord and on a consolidation of ties between the state's leading political force and a milieu of educated, able, and intelligent people who are important for the state and development of this force...

Bednarski: The party has preserved its considerable organizational and ideological influence on the intelligentsia. There is also a process of regaining the intelligentsia's weakened confidence. The party needs deep and lasting accord and joint work for the good of the country and society.

I need not even prove this; it stems from Marxist theory and practice, and from socialist theory. In this sense, the plenum is meant to serve the implementation of accord, among other things.

Kostrzewa: Thank you for the interview.

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES ACCOUNTABILITY CONFERENCE

LD282349 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 28 Mar 85

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski delivered a speech today during the party accountability conference of the Warsaw Military District. Speaking about the party accountability campaign, which is nearly completed, he stated that the campaign was striking proof of how the party is regaining its strength and ability to lead and influence all spheres of life in Poland.

It is particularly important to regain the confidence of people who are not party members. Significant proof of this is the fact that the trend toward a decline in party membership was reversed. However, he said, we do not want an increase in party membership at any price, and in particular in the form that existed in the seventies in some civilian organizations.

Furthermore, we will continue to rid ourselves of people who are opportunist, fainthearted or who yield to alien influence and pressure. Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed emphatically that the situation in the party could not be, and was not, isolated from the processes that are occurring in society; on the contrary, after all it is the growth of strength and vigor in its ranks and in party organizations that has a mobilizing influence on the strengthening of the social infrastructure of socialism.

TALKS ON ECONOMIC COORDINATION WITH GDR REPORTED

AU281142 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Mar 85 pp 1, 4

[Text] PAP -- On 18-23 March in Warsaw, working talks were held between the central planning bodies of the PPR and GDR on the subject of coordinating economic cooperation and mutual deliveries of goods and services in 1986-90.

Both sides anticipate a continuation of the dynamic development of trade and a broadening of cooperation in the spheres of science, technology, and production, chiefly by means of specialization. Particular importance is being attached to increasing the mutual trade of goods. This is diminishing imports from the capitalist countries and eliminating the tangible shortages caused by the economic restrictions applied to the PPR and the GDR by some of these countries or caused by the economic recession experienced by some Western countries. It has been agreed to continue mutual deliveries of raw materials, better adapting the structure of these deliveries to existing needs. The prerequisites for a considerable increase in the exchange of machines and equipment and of market goods are being established.

Both sides have also prepared a broad package of concrete proposals concerning the enhancement of cooperation after 1990, especially with regard to the electrical machine industry, construction, the chemical industry, mining, and energy.

The present state of joint preparations for a long-term cooperation program until the year 2000 was also discussed. This program will establish a future scale and structure of trade for a longer period than so far, but will also define more closely the development of scientific-technological cooperation and the resultant development of specialization and coproduction in many modern spheres of production.

GOVERNMENT VIEWS TRANSPORTATION, TECHNOLOGY

AU281457 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Mar 85 pp 1-2

[Excerpts] PAP -- The Government Information Office reports that on 25 March the Government Presidium evaluated the situation in public transportation and adopted a draft resolution of the Council of Ministers on improving transportation.

The Government Presidium approved "The Policy and Program of Developing Transportation Until the Year 2000" and agreed that the principal goals of transportation policy include a halt to the depreciation of transportation assets, the mobilization of all the branches of transportation at a level that fully meets the transportation needs of the community and the national economy, the maximum exploitation of rail transportation in order to reduce the consumption of liquid fuels, and adequate transportation services for Polish foreign trade. Cooperation between the Polish transportation system with the European, especially the CEMA, transportation system, will continue to be improved.

Measures will be promoted to ensure the movement of rolling stock, mainly of domestic production, and to increase the speed of the electrification of railroads. Work to increase the effectiveness of the main communication lines will be promoted, the volume of repairs on railroad facilities will be expanded, and the state of technical installations improved. Efforts will be made to streamline the structure of automobile transportation and to increase freight by carried specialized road haulage enterprises. A system of licenses for profit-making road haulage will be introduced in order to promote a correct organization of rolling stock and to better exploit the transportation potential.

The Government Presidium examined a bill on scientific institutions and other research and development organizations. The work on the bill was done in a number of phases, which made it possible to adopt the proposals from scientific and technological centers as well as their remarks on the bill, which was published in RZECZPOSPOLITA in October 1983. The basic purpose of research and development organizations is progress in science and technology. The bill will provide legal facilities for the development of these organizations under the conditions of the economic reform.

The Government Presidium also examined draft regulations concerning the extent and nature of the performance of the Council of Ministers Committee for Science and Technological Progress and of the Office for Scientific-Technological Progress and Implementation. The committee's basic task is to coordinate the performance of the supreme and central bodies of state administration in implementing the state's scientific-technological policy. In particular, the committee will lay down the main goals and extent of scientific research and scientific-technological progress geared to the socioeconomic aims of the country's development.

The Office for Scientific-Technological Progress and Implementation will implement the tasks posed by the committee as well as its own tasks, including the implementation of the programs and themes relating to research and development work, the practical realization of various schemes, and the propagation of scientific-technological progress with the help of the resources assigned for this purpose.

GNA SESSION OPENS; CEAUSESCU, OTHERS PRESENT

AU281251 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 28 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/3/1985 -- The proceedings of the first session of the Ninth Grand National Assembly [GNA] of Romania got under way on the morning of March 28. The GNA will elect the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the higher court, the procurator general, the secretaries of the Grand National Assembly and the Standing Commission of the Romanian parliament. Taking their seats in the official lodges together with Nicolae Ceausescu were Elena Ceausescu, Constantin Dascalescu, and the other members of the Romanian party and state leadership. The proceedings were chaired by Ion Popescu-Puturi, the doyen of the current legislature. The session of the Romanian parliament continues.

Bureau Elected, Agenda Given

AU281932 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1807 GMT 28 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/3/1985 -- The Grand National Assembly resumed its proceedings on March 28 in the afternoon and unanimously validated the mandates of the 369 deputies chosen on March 17 to the supreme legislative forum. The GNA doyen declared the Ninth Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania constituted. Next, the deputies took the oath of allegiance to the Socialist Republic of Romania. The Bureau of the Grand National Assembly was elected next. Chairman of the parliament was elected Nicolae Giosan; deputy chairmen: Maria Gheorghe, Maria Lazar, Iosif Szasz and Ilie Vaduva; and secretaries: Stefania Ionescu, Dumitru Alecu, Poliana Cristescu, Andrei Iosif Proth, Frusina Tasmau and Ion Catrinescu.

Upon the proposal of the Bureau of the Grand National Assembly the following agenda was adopted for the current session:

1. election of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania;
2. election of the State Council;
3. election of the Council of Ministers;
4. election of the Supreme Court;
5. election of the procurator general;
6. election of the standing commissions of the Grand National Assembly;
7. programme of measures regarding the tasks of the government, ministries, other central and local state bodies, of socialist centrals and units for the integral fulfillment of the provisions of the single national plan of the country's socioeconomic development in 1985 and preparations for the fulfillment in best conditions of the 1986 plan.

In keeping with the Constitution's provisions, Constantin Dascalescu, Romanian prime minister, relinquished the mandate of the Council of Ministers in force, granted by the Eighth Grand National Assembly. The Grand National Assembly approved by open ballot the deposition of the mandate of the Council of Ministers. The session continues.

Ceausescu Reelected President

AU290835 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0830 GMT 29 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/3/1985 -- On Friday, March 29, the Romanian parliament reelected Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, chairman of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, to the office of president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, for a new five-year term. This is the fourth time Nicolae Ceausescu is invested with the office of head of state.

DJURANOVIC ADDRESSES AKTIV ON LCY TASKS, UNITY

LD281948 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1137 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] Titovo Uzice, 27 Mar (TANJUG) -- Veselin Djuranovic, SFRY Presidency president, spoke last night to the economic-political aktiv of the Titovo Uzice region on some of the most important questions of the internal political situation and on some questions of Yugoslavia's international relations and foreign policy.

The basic characteristics of our political and social situation, said Djuranovic, are expressed mainly in the efforts of our society and of all organized socialist forces to overcome the economic crisis and the adverse tendencies in the country's economic development, to arrest them, and to open the prospect of our further social development. At the same time we are making efforts to promote the functioning of our political system. It is true to say, however, that this is the first stage of these efforts which are inherent in a critical analysis of the functioning of our political system.

Finally, I believe that one of the most essential characteristics of the present time is the great activity expressed in the general party debate conducted during the past few months and concluded with the unanimous adoption of the conclusions of the 16th Central Committee session that were directed toward consolidating the ideopolitical role of the LC, especially its ideological and political unity.

All this is directed toward eliminating the causes of stagnation in the development of socialist self-management, both as a basic production attitude and as the ruling social system. I am stressing both these aspects because we must view socialist self-management in Yugoslavia in its entirety both as a basic production attitude and as a process for implemenitng the leading role of the worker class in decisionmaking, in social reproduction, and in all social business.

There is no doubt whatsoever that adopting the Long-Term Program for Economic Stabilization has provided a comprehensive analysis of the reasons why we fell into an economic crisis. The program has provided a comprehensive concept for eliminating the causes and opening the prospect for further socioeconomic development in the country. However, even with this program of economic stabilization we have not yet provided answers to two major questions. We have not provided an assessment as to why the political system of direct socialist democracy is not functioning efficiently in the spirit of the Constitution and its principles. The link between socioeconomic and sociopolitical relations is undeniable and by virtue of this very fact the Long-Term Program for Economic Stabilization ought to have been accompanied by answers to questions on promoting the functioning of the political system in our society. We belatedly tackled a critical analysis of our political system. This work has not yet been completed and this is one of our serious mistakes in the context of our comprehensive efforts and endeavors to establish a more stable socioeconomic and sociopolitical development.

We should also provide a fuller answer regarding implementing the leading role of the LC in our socioeconomic condition and also implementing the role of all organized socialist forces in the conditions of the struggle to give life to constitutional principles because it is certain, and this has been clearly stressed in the Long-Term Program for Economic Stabilization, that an irresponsible role by the LC and of other organized socialist forces in our system is one of the essential reasons for the economic crisis.

I think that with the all-party debate in the period between the 13th and the 16th LCY Central Committee sessions and with the adoption of the LC conclusions we have, generally speaking, provided an answer to the question of implementing the LC's leading ideopolitical role in present conditions. In saying this, I am not thinking only of the LCY Central Committee conclusions, but of the very extensive, indeed very broadly-based and truly revolutionary, action that was characteristic of the past few months. I happen to think that this revolutionary action by the Communists has to a certain extent initiated a new period in the development of our LC and our society. In so doing I have regard for the fact that it has very clearly defined the guidelines as to the way the LC should operate today. I am thinking primarily of the LCY as a whole and of all its parts.

In this context the greatest importance devolves on the assessments and standards contained in the conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session that refer to the LC itself, to reaffirming the principle of democratic centralism, and to laying down the imperative commitment concerning the establishment and renewal of ideopolitical unity in the LC on those key questions of our development that are still outstanding today. On the same occasion the LC Central Committee also adopted an action program for its work. It covers all the outstanding questions on which significant differences exist in the LCY and because of which the process of social development has been rendered difficult in those areas where the differences were most pronounced. I do not mean to say that we have resolved the problem, but we have provided a good basis for mobilizing party membership and party leaderships toward overcoming these differences on the key question and toward creating a new situation in the LCY.

In 1984 we attained quite favorable results in our economic development. After 2 years of stagnation a growth rate of over 5.5 percent in industrial production was attained. At the same time we attained a surplus in our country's balance of payments. We met all our commitments toward foreign countries, which were not insignificant. We paid off over $3.1 billion of our foreign debt, which has created a favorable atmosphere toward Yugoslavia's position at an international level. For the first time since 1979, efficiency in running the economy has increased. Labor productivity has grown at the conspicuous rate of almost 2.5 percent.

However, this is only one aspect of our economic situation. The other one is more difficult, more complex, and more unfavorable. Last year we failed to attain two key objectives. We did not manage to curb inflation although we reduced it by a few points in relation to 1983. Second, we did not manage to halt a fall of real wages, which entailed a further deterioration in the standard of living, especially in the case of some categories of our population, particularly workers' families, where we have cases of families living on one personal income, and a low one at that. Nonimplementation of these two key objectives continues to make our economy, and by virtue of that our political situation, unstable.

Our economy did not start favorably this year. This is confirmed by the assessment that some postive tendencies in our economic development, characteristic of the previous year, have not stabilized. For this reason the struggle to implement the production and export program, curb inflation, and by so doing, also halt a fall in real wages, is our country's primary task at the present time.

Do we have realistic possibilities for implementing our production and export program this year? All analyses show that we have. If this assessment is accurate, and according to all analyses it is, then it depends on us alone whether we realize this planned growth of production and export.

I am stressing that this is today's primary task and that we must subordinate all else to the struggle for greater production and higher exports. By doing so we will also solve other key questions that face us.

Regarding the problem of inflation and the possibility of our society halting the growth of and subsequently reducing the inflation rate within a relatively short time, I think that these are problems that rank among the most important questions for our country and this is why the LCY Central Committee is justified in its decision to place the problem of the struggle against inflation on its agenda as early as April this year. I attach a great importance to this Central Committee session which could be of exceptional importance for our overall action on further implementing the Long-Term Program for Economic Stabilization.

When speaking of the problem of implementing the Long-Term Program for Economic Stabilization, I am thinking of the following: Although we have entered the second stage of the long-term program on a number of issues, we are already behind. We have opted for a uniform joint strategy to develop Yugoslav energy resources and accelerate a specific program of energy development so as to avoid a further crisis because of the electricity shortage. All analyses indicated that to a certain extent we are lagging behind in this matter and that in the future, in specific years, we could face an even greater electricity shortage than is now forecast. Our activities in connection with adopting a unified strategy for the technological development of the country and for operating this strategy are lagging behind as well. This is one of the fundamental questions which our long-term program has established as a condition for a further successful development of our country and its appropriate inclusion in the international division of labor and on the world market. Recently in the SFRY Presidency we discussed our own commitments in this context and took over the tasks of our action to accelerate all activities connected with the problem of developing energy and the strategy of technological development. In this context we paid special attention to a discussion on a unified concept for developing nuclear energy.

The long-term program has laid stress on the question of creating and realizing all the conditions needed for the unified Yugoslav market to function, to pool labor and resources over the whole of the Yugoslav area. I think that in this connection the LC action conferences on various themes in individual spheres of our socioeconomic life deserve particular attention. I want to stress the exceptional social and political significance of this kind of activity of the LCY, because these processes cannot be set in motion without the LC's organized, conscious, and resolute action.

The most important question now is that of implementing the attitudes jointly adopted at these action conferences. I think that the key responsibility for this is borne by the LCY Central Committee, the republican and provincial committees, all the way down to the municipal committees and the LC organizations in workplaces whose representatives took part in these action conferences. I also think that this is in line with the common demands resulting from the sharp criticism leveled during the all-party debate on the policy of isolationism, nationalism, and territorial distribution of resources. I do not think that this is sufficiently well understood at this time.

We attach exceptional importance to the fastest possible agreement being reached between the republics and the provinces on the taxation system and taxation policy. This is a complex task and a great obligation. We must not allow ourselves to be compromised politically in connection with realizing taxation policy.

I must state that this is a very sensitive question. By means of taxation policy we must, on the one hand create room for further developing small-scale economy, tourism, private agriculture, and so forth and, on the other, reduce social differences and prevent the numerous machinations which lead to enrichment without work.

However, the extent to which we shall exploit our country's economic potential depends on whether and to what extent we succeed in integrating economic processes and stand united on the foreign market. The degree to which we achieve positive results in this sphere is the degree to which we will be able to carry out the entire program for economic stabilization more speedily and with better results.

I want to go back to the all-party debate and the conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session. This action is of far-reaching significance and is in many ways decisively important for realizing the LCY's leading role, and I would say also for ensuring the continuity of the revolutionary development of our society. It is undeniable that this all-party discussion has created a favorable political climate for greater mobilization of all the organized socialist forces in our society in settling the open questions of this juncture. Why am I saying this? This action was dominated by the orientation toward further developing socialist self-management as the dominant social and production relation and by very sharp criticism expressed on the party's shortcomings in the struggle against etatism, techno-bureaucratism, and all the obstacles on the road to developing socialist self-management.

In the LC and in all parts of the country, absolute approval was voiced for the attitude on the need for a concrete struggle to create favorable sociopolitical and socioeconomic conditions for developing socialist self-management in our society. This should be particularly stressed because many critics of our present situation proceed from the thesis that the socialist self-management system is the cause of the crisis. However, I think that they are looking at things the wrong way, if I may say so, because we have in fact not yet developed the system of socialist self-management either as the dominant production relation at the grass roots of society or as a system of self-management established in the whole of society.

The all-party debate and the LC's action in recent months demonstrates the great revolutionary values of our party's grass roots. Because of this we are now confronted more by certain elements of a crisis in leading the party than by a crisis of the party itself. I think that this is one of the key questions that we must speak about. Success in overcoming these crisis elements in leading the party will prevent certain negative consequences of this crisis from spreading to the party itself and from devaluing and weakening it in the revolutionary sense.

Of particular significance is the fact that the broad masses of Communists and working people sensed during this action that one of the main causes of these crisis elements in leading the party is to be found in the insufficient degree or the inappropriate kind of unity in the party leadership and in this way they automatically made a very sharp request for the revival of ideopolitical unity in the leadership of the LCY and the LC leaderships in the republics and the provinces. [Sentence indistinct]

This action also set in motion a broad process of democratization in the party and in society. The fact that at the 16th LCY Central Committee session it was stated that in the future things can no longer be done the old way represents a great achievement of this revolutionary action. I think that developing democratic relations in the party will now be given a greater impetus toward transformation.

Of exceptional interest from the point of view of assessing this action is the party grass-root demand for a full affirmation of the principal of democratic centralism in the LCY. This represents resolute resistance to trends toward the federalization of the party and a very critical attitude toward opportunism in the LC and its leadership. By virtue of our program and statute we are the revolutionary party of the working class in which these and such principles must prevail and must be correctly interpreted: full democratization of the process of forming attitudes, but also full unity of action in implementing the adopted attitudes. We must fully develop democratism so that we can arrive at the best attitudes in an objective manner, but we must also ensure unity of action at all levels, from the basic organizations to the LCY Central Committee, so that we can initiate further social development.

This is why at its 16th session the LCY Central Committee accepted what I consider great and responsible obligations regarding preparations for the next party congress based on complying with requests voiced by the party's grass roots -- the working people of our country -- in the all-party debate as the main question in the search for a way out of the situation in which we find ourselves.

In critically analyzing the functioning of the political system we cannot be absolutely satisfied with the present level of effective decisionmaking in society [words indistinct]. I think that the crisis of the effectiveness of decisionmaking is one of the cause of our unfavorable situation today.

However, achieving harmony among all the numerous self-managing interests and deriving optimum solutions from them [words indistinct] a process which we have so far not been able to resolve successfully or efficiently. Here too lies one of the causes of our ineffectiveness in the functioning of the political system and system of decisionmaking at all levels. Ranging from interests in work organizations which have more than one basic organization to the local communities, municipalities, provinces, and republics, we are everywhere confronted by this real problem in our society. We cannot simultaneously satisfy all these separate interests because we lack the real material possibilities for doing so. Therefore, we need the kind of political mechanism that will sort out these interests on the basis of priorities, so that we can arrive, at a given moment, at what is most essential for developing the sociopolitical community, regardless of whether this concerns a municipality, republic or province, or the federation. This now represents one of the obstacles which we must surmount.

I am absolutely convinced that one of the critical aspects in the functioning of the political system is to be found in the ineffectiveness of decisionmaking at all levels on key questions; this is due to the fact that we have not succeeded appropriately in setting in motion a positive process of harmonizing partial interests and above all in defining the common interests and then subordinating partial interests to these common interests.

I think that the new medium-term plan, whose adoption we face, will once more [words indistinct]. We must put an end to ineffectiveness and prevent the tendency to favor partial interests to the detriment of common interest from being dominant. I do not think that there are any work organizations, municipalities, republics, or provinces which have no common interests with someone else which we have to define at the federal level, regardless of whether these common interests are described as the uniform strategy of technological development or uniform development policy in the field of energy, or are to be found in of aid to the underdeveloped areas, or in any of our tasks which concern the balance of payments.

The battle fought by the party must be aimed at overcoming the partial way of thinking which at the moment is seriously hindering the functioning of the political system of socialist democracy and also our efforts to make the system of decisionmaking in our system more effective and thus also better.

Veselin Djuranovic, SFRY Presidency president, also spoke about a number of questions of international relations and of Yugoslavia's foreign policy. In connection with the activity of the Nonaligned Movement Djuranovic said:

Our assessment of the state of the Nonaligned Movement and nonaligned policy is that great effort should be made to mobilize the Nonaligned Movement. We say, in fact, that in the past the Nonaligned Movement has not been active enough in settling the key questions in our world in either the political or economic spheres. By saying this I do not mean that the awareness of nonaligned policy as a significant moral-political factor in the world for democratizing international political relations has grown weaker. This awareness has taken deep root in nonaligned countries and this is reflected in every positive question raised in the UN and its organizations where critical international problems are tackled, and where as a rule nonaligned countries favor solutions that are most in keeping with the policy of the movement, which is, after all, also illustrated by the activity of individual countries at the regional level. In general, we think that the present international political and economic situation calls for the greater mobilization of the Nonaligned Movement.

The crisis in international political relations has had an unfavorable effect on the situation in the movement. Conflicts between individual nonaligned countries have also had an unfavorable effect on this situation, hence the need for joint action by all nonaligned countries and each one individually in the coming period to increase the mobilization of the movement and strive to ensure that its activity is fully aimed at the present key international political problems.

Speaking about relations between Yugoslavia and the USSR, President Djuranovic said that the recent meeting between the Yugoslav delegation and Mikhail Gorbachev, first secretary [as received] of the CPSU Central Committee, confirmed the value of the well-known principles of cooperation on an equal footing between the two countries and showed that respect for these principles is of the greatest importance for further cooperation and relations between Yugoslavia and the USSR.

BELOVSKI INTERVIEWED ON DEVELOPMENT TASKS

LD282312 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1022 GMT 28 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Mar (TANJUG) -- The LCY has clearly formulated the goals and tasks related to the present stage of social development. They are as follows: the further development of socialist self-management, extrication of the country from economic difficulties, consolidation of the Yugoslav federation as a community of equal nations and nationalities, and ideopolitical and cadre preparation of the LCY for further realization of the vanguard role of the Yugoslav revolution. This was stated by Dimce Belovski, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in an interview granted to KOMUNIST and due to be published tomorrow.

It was the public discussion, Belovski stressed, which helped define development goals and give them such clear expression in the conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session and the LCY Central Committee's program of work.

The 16th session has thus become a clear signpost and point of reference for the entire work and activity of the organs and organizations of the League of Communists and of all the subjective forces up to the 13th LCY Congress.

It would obviously have been better, Belovski went on, if before this summing up session we had held a separate session of the LCY Central Committee within the framework of the public discussion on the draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session in order to carry out a critical analysis of the work of the LCY Central Committee and of its Presidium, which we were obliged to do on the basis of draft conclusions of the 13th session. If we had done so the 16th session would have been relieved to the greatest possible extent of the burden caused by the very tangible awareness of the need to speak critically about the work of the Central Committee and of the Presidium. There would have been less strain and, most likely, a greater degree of concentration on the fundamental questions of development and problems of activity of the LCY which we face today.

Likewise, we must not ignore the fact that we, the Presidium and the LCY Central Committee, did the same as the other leaderships of the LCY, which is to say that we placed ourselves in the position of those who sum up the public discussion, instead of being an integral part of the process which was set in motion by the discussion and which should continue.

Finally, in the absence of solutions to a number of the biggest questions facing us as a society and as a community, we would have been able to speak even more resolutely about democratic centralism, disintegration trends in society, the alienated and statist centers of power, relations betwen the LCY Central Committee and the republican and provincial leaderships, the unity of Yugoslavia, and the unity of the federation. These questions were very much in evidence during the public discussion, as were also the expectations that some major changes would take place in that connection.

As the culmination of broad public expression, the 16th session exerted the greatest ever possible pressure on the LCY and on its leaderships in support of demands for a search for solutions to the open problems of our social development. At the moment, this is the most visible result of the public discussion and of the 16th LCY Central Committee session.

Of wider implications for our further social action, Belovski said, will certainly also be the fact that the Central Committee was unanimous in adopting its conclusions and program of work. The conclusions should be viewed as an exceptionally important element in the entire process initiated by us. They were not the ultimate aim of the public discussion and could not contain all the hoped-for beneficial formulas for our socio-economic contradictions and for the existing open questions. The conclusions are the product of a specific trend and of the sum total of our comprehension and strength at this moment, and that is why they should primarily be seen as an important instrument with which to conduct the action of the LCY. In this respect they contain important obligations which every basic organization and every member must and can associate themselves with and which should provide the motivation for all of their concrete activity. This degree of directness was possible only because the conclusions had been written with the broadest contribution and participation by members of the LCY.

Finding solutions to unsolved questions is the key to everything. This, Belovski stressed, would provide a basis for the creation of a new social climate, which would enable us to be more optimistic, see the future more clearly, and carry out a wider and more vigorous mobilization of all the social subjects, especially working people and citizens.

This is an aim we should pursue and to which we should devote all our abilities and energies. Above all, we need courage and resolve in our clash with various forms of resistance and with opportunism. We need knowledge and persistence in order to harmonize different interests and shape political attitudes as a basis for settling the key questions of our development.

The leaderships of the LCY, and in particular the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, Belovski said, have now been placed at the center of attention. The baton has been passed to them. They have been given the stage. The LCY Central Committee, the Presidium, and all the leaderships are expected to march in an organized and creative manner toward settling key, unsolved questions on which further development of the Yugoslav revolution depends.

Our falling behind was caused entirely by the end to the development of socialist self-management and by its being pushed outside the process of global decisionmaking. We can no longer remain at that stage.

Self-management, Belovski emphasized, must be allowed to make fresh breakthroughs, which should permeate the whole of society, economic trends, and the institutions of political life. This presupposes, above all, a courageous effort to come to grips with problems in the field of production relations. Public discussions confirmed unanimously that self-management is the only line for us to follow and that its further development, spread, and liquidation of the existing bastions of statism are of decisive importance to the future of the Yugoslav revolution, society, and community.

There is a very pronounced tendency, Belovski went on, to push all the problems in the direction of the LCY, blaming it for everything and often expecting all the solutions to come solely and above all from the leaderships of the LCY. But what are the responsibilities of the other socialist subjects? In our present difficult situation can we afford to have a situation in which the other socialist factors in our society and community do not bear their equal share of obligations and responsibilities? These tendencies to overemphasize the functions and responsibilities of the LCY restrict its entire activity in our system, and this can have serious consequences for the character and nature of our further social efforts and development.

The LCY, and in particular its leaderships, must analyze these dangers very seriously and eliminate them. This can only be achieved through the broad activity of the LCY and by widening action in the fronts of the socialist forces. The LCY must lead and be in the front, but at the same time it must also demand responsibility from all the social subjects.

The working class does not need lamentations and does not need political forums to be transformed into wailing walls and places where people pour ashes over themselves. What the working class needs is a leadership which is united and able to go into battle, to lead social action in search of solutions, and to lead society forward into revolution.

It goes without saying that the unity of the LCY cannot be achieved at the conference table. The inclination to compromise, avoidance of the key disputed issues, and linguistic combinations cannot provide the basis for the unity of the LCY. The LCY will build and consolidate its unity by being consistent in its battle for strategic orientations, by making a constant contribution to solving the key questions of our development, by pursuing forward-driving, ideopolitical activity, and by providing initiative for the realization of joint activity on the part of all the socialist social factors.

The Central Committee Presidium has the duty to come to the Central Committee with united ideopolitical attitudes on settling the highest-priority questions [words indistinct]. No possible absence of unanimity on all attitudes can serve as a justification for delaying its appearance before the Central Commitee.

If there are differences which have not been surmounted, let the LCY Central Committee act as arbiter and point its finger and call people to account. The successful work of the Central Committee in connection with even one question or two can even at the beginning create a favorable climate in which the other questions, too, can be placed in a different context and most likely be easier to solve. This, of course, presupposes the necessary contribution by the central and provincial committee of the League of Communists.

This is not a matter of the method of work alone. The method of work by itself will solve nothing. This is a fundamental matter of the character, function, competence, and role of the Central Committee in leading the whole LCY and of what decisions should be taken by the Central Committee and what responsibility it is ready to bear.

The entire activity and expressions of views since the 13th session have created a situation that makes heavy demands on the LCY and its leaderships. This is not to be regretted. On the contrary, a great historical step has been achieved. We have reached a situation in which we must come to grips over the next several months in an organized and creative manner with the accumulated questions of greatest importance to the future of our country and revolution. There is no alternative. We are facing a major test. Our obligations are exceptional. Everything should be done to ensure that we can take up the challenge successfully, Dimce Belovski said among other things in his KOMMUNIST interview.

1986 LCY CONGRESS TO RETAIN SAME PARTY STATUTE

LD282332 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1619 GMT 28 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, March 28 (TANJUG) -- The Thirteenth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia next year, in all likelihood will adopt no new party statute since it is not necessary.

This assessment was set forth at a session of the LCY Central Committee's Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions in Belgrade today, with the conclusion that adoption of a new statute would mean departure from vital platform and ideological-political commitments of the League of Communists. However, following demands of the 12th LCY Congress of 1982 and the general party debate the commission pointed to the need for the existing statute to be edited, shortened and freed from what is repetition of stands from other documents.

Participants in the debate today also consider that the existence of republican and provincial statutes of the League of Communists cannot be brought into question.

The 13th Congress of the LCY should be held about the middle of 1986.

ALGERIAN PRIME MINISTER BRAHIMI CONCLUDES VISIT

Meets With Sukrija

LD271424 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1335 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, March 27 (TANJUG) -- Relations and cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the National Liberation Front (FLN) of Algeria are based on a lasting commitment on both sides to the principles of complete independence, free choice of roads in internal socialist development, and each party's responsibility to its own people.

This assessment was set forth during a friendly and cordial meeting here today between Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidency, and Abdelhamid Brahimi, member of the FLN Political Bureau and prime minister. Brahimi is currently in Yugoslavia as guest of Prime Minister Milka Planinc. In conditions of international tension and the absence of progress in dealing with world economic problems, positions of the two parties are marked with complete agreement on the need for intensifying the activities of all international factors, and especially the progressive democratic forces.

Ends Talks; Departs

LD290018 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1553 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Mar (TANJUG) -- The final round of talks between Milka Planinc, Federal Executive Council [FEC] president, and Abdelhamid Brahimi, Algerian prime minister, was held in Belgrade today. Abdelhamid Brahimi today ended his 3-day official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia and left Belgrade. The visit by the Algerian prime minister and his colleagues was characterized by exceptionally cordial and very friendly working consultations which are the main feature of the traditionally close and good relations between the two nonaligned countries.

Both sides confirmed their readiness and commitment to add new dimensions to their mutual relations. Stress was also laid on the commitment to expand economic cooperation between the two countries by more boldly undertaking new joint investment projects, founding mixed enterprises, and launching joint ventures on third markets.

The need was emphasized for raising the level of joint activity in the spheres of information, culture, technology transfer, and in promoting joint scientific and technical development.

During the talks particular attention was paid to the need to find concrete solutions to economic problems of developing countries. The two prime ministers stressed the need for economic negotiations between North and South since, it was emphasized again, the developed countries cannot solve their own problems without solving those of the developing countries.

The Algerian prime minister invited the FEC president to visit Algeria. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

MAMULA RETURNS FROM KUWAITI MILITARY TALKS

LD290023 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1852 GMT 27 Mar 85

["Mamula Returns to Belgrade" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Mar (TANJUG) -- Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, this evening returned from a working, official, and friendly visit to Kuwait. In the course of his visit to this friendly and nonaligned country, Adm of the Fleet Branko Mamula and members of his delegation had talks with their host Shaykh Salim al-Sabah, Kuwaiti minister of defense. The talks focused on military cooperation between the two friendly countries.

At Batajnica Airport the federal secretary for national defense was welcomed by Colonel General Petar Gracanin, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, and other high-ranking officers of the Yugoslav People's Army. Tal'at al-Ghusayn, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Kuwait in the SFRY, was also at the airport to welcome the delegation.

PRAVDA CHIEF EDITOR VISITS KUMUNIST EDITORS

LD282313 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1326 GMT 29 Mar 85

["PRAVDA Chief Editor in Belgrade" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Mar (TANJUG) -- Viktor Afanasyev, PRAVDA chief editor and member of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Belgrade today as a guest of the KOMUNIST editorial board. The visit takes place within the framework of traditional inter-editorial exchanges and cooperation. During his visit, Afanasyev met with the KOMUNIST officials and journalists and will tour the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. He will also be received by officials of the Yugoslav party and state.

POLITIKA: LUDWIGSLUST SHOWS NEED FOR RESTRAINT

LD281217 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1110 GMT 28 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, March 28 (TANJUG) -- Are not incidents such as the recent shooting of U.S. Major Nicholson by a Soviet soldier, tragic warnings about the extent to which Europe as a whole has become the test range of "global rivals", asks Belgrade daily POLITIKA today.

Commenting on the incident in Potsdam. "Although not backing away from the irreconcilably different explanations of the death of the U.S. officer, both sides are avoiding hard, irretractable words", writes the Belgrade daily, adding that this is both "calming and encouraging".

By such restraint, the two powers are confirming a thing which is most important at this moment -- that nothing should be done to bring in question their dialogue, which would at least enable the calming of a too risky and too costly confrontation between the two superpowers. "Raising the temperature" would affect both sides, or their common interests, to be more exact, writes POLITIKA.

"The tragic incident at Potsdam could be a useful moral for the main protagonists of the European and world military-espionage race -- rivalry is becoming more and more dangerous, calming down is more and more essential," concludes POLITIKA.